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9 Weekly Review

The presidency
is still there



7 Arts & Entertainment

'The Siege'
falls flat



22 Sports

Turning over
a new Leaf

INDEX

Arts & Entertainment 7
Business 17
Crossword 23
Movies/TV 23
Opinion 8
Sports 24



Participants from opposing demonstrations hold an impromptu dialogue yesterday at the edge of Jerusalem's Sacher Park.

(Isaac Harari)

Showdown for MKs in Labor primaries today

By LIAT COLLINS

For Labor Party candidates hoping for a seat in the next Knesset, today's party primaries are as least as significant as the national elections — even more important for many. There are 83 candidates competing, and just over 163,000 Labor members have the right to vote.

Many of the serving MKs are in a zero-sum game with their colleagues: Only one of them can win a slot more than one person is running for. There are 13 MKs running for the 11 vacant spots in the top 16 on the national list, where first place is reserved for party chairman Ehud Barak; second for Shimon Peres, his predecessor; seventh for secretary-general Ra'anan Cohen; and ninth and 14th for women. Of the current female MKs, Dalia Itzik and Yael Dayan are competing on the national list, and Sofia Landver for the immigrant slot.

The polls open at 9 a.m. (noon on moshavim) and close at 8 p.m. The sealed ballots will be transported by 15 transit points to the Tel Aviv Fairgrounds, where they will be counted by employees of the Tel-Dor computer company using an optical scanner.

First results are only expected around midnight, and the count will continue through the night. All the candidates are expected to reach the finish exhausted, after weeks of running around the country, shaking hands, and meeting the party members who will determine their fate. Today they are expected to tour among the 554 polling booths in 372 communities throughout the country.

The effort has taken a particular toll on the former cabinet members fighting to get a realistic position. However, yesterday the most frequent refrain was that they are all "feeling good."

And all repeat the party line that, no matter how difficult, primary elections among all the party members are the only democratic system of choosing representatives. On the record at least, they reject using a system in which central committee members pick the slate.

"It's true it's been difficult, but it's the most democratic system. It involves a lot of travel and meet-

ing people, but that's part of the job," said former finance minister Avraham Shohat. Shohat admits having lost 15 kilograms, "but that's over the past few months, even before the pre-primary election period."

Haim Ramon, a former health minister and the "bad boy" of the primary period, predicts he will not fall in the vote, but adds he will be "satisfied with whatever the party members decide."

Shlomo Ben-Ami, who was the newcomer at the bottom of the list in the 1996 primaries, is considered to have a good chance of coming in high this time, and also said that "the voters will decide."

Former housing minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, considered stronger in the central committee than in the wider party, also rejected switching systems. "It's hard and frustrating, but it's a lesson in democracy."

He also noted that primaries also reduce the risk of the vote being influenced. Ben-Eliezer's name has come up as one of those on reported "hit lists," listing preferred candidates and eliminating the names of others.

Cohen and Yehiel Leket, head of the party's polling committee, during a press tour yesterday of the hall where the votes will be counted, both said that there can be no outside intervention with the votes

under this system. Some candidates fear that the complicated voting system could cause a number of invalid votes. The party members have to choose between nine and 11 candidates and can select another five for the top slots, on a form which looks like a lottery ticket.

Another issue which has come under attack is Barak's intention to bring in outsiders on reserved slots in the framework of his One Israel movement. Peres told Channel 2 last night that the system is only worthwhile if the candidates carry special weight and can contribute.

Despite the denials of Barak and Cohen, rumors of lists of preferred candidates persisted. Yesterday, the hot names on Barak's list were reported to be Yossi Beilin, Ben-Ami, Ramon, Ben-Eliezer, Matan Vilnai, Itzik, Landver, Yuli Tamir, and Elie Goldschmidt, who is considered valuable as a member of the kibbutz movement, now that Hagga Merom has defected to the Center Party.

Peres's reported current list is Beilin, Avraham Burg, Uzi Baram, Ophir Pines-Paz, Shevah Weiss, Itzik, Dayan, Oren Shahor, Svetlana Alexandrova, and Colette Avital. He has also been considered a supporter of Landver.

The value of the lists, however, as with their counterparts in the Likud, is limited and will only become clear with the final results.



Labor Party secretary-general MK Ra'anan Cohen checks his program yesterday in Tel Aviv for today's primaries. (Yael Somesh/Israel Sun)

250,000 protest court 'dictatorship' — Carnival spirit at counter rally

Porush: It's only the beginning

By HANI SHAPIRO

To the trumpeting of shofarot, over 250,000 demonstrators ended a prayer rally by declaring seven times that the Lord is God.

The demonstrators, who were gathered to protest against the Supreme Court, especially in its role as the High Court of Justice, jammed the section of Jaffa Road from the entrance to Jerusalem, to the old central bus station, as well as some of the surrounding streets, vacant lots, and rooftops. Although some knitted Kippot were seen in the crowd, it was overwhelmingly haredi, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi.

Although there had been fears voiced that some of the participants might take the opportunity to act recklessly, and even the organizers had spoken of possible "provocateurs" who might, for example, try to break through police barriers and attack the Supreme Court building, the crowd was very well-behaved. There were no speeches. Participants recited the afternoon *Mincha* prayer, and then a series of penitential prayers, with both Ashkenazi and Sephardi cantors leading the services.

Demonstrators carried posters which expressed the anger of the haredi community over such High Court decisions as: that putting Reform and Conservative representatives on local religious councils, allowing Kibbutz shopping centers to function on Shabbat, and rulings which appear to lead

the way to recognition of Reform and Conservative conversion.

"The High Court represents violence," "An end to incitement," and "There is no law above the law of the Torah," were among the slogans on the posters. Some posters also called for the freeing of the "three prisoners of Zion," a reference to the three men arrested in the Mea She'arim neighborhood on suspicion of participating in a recent attack on an apartment occupied by three Christian women.

One sign, "The High Court represents the elite," gave voice to a commonly expressed sentiment in the haredi community that the Supreme Court should have representatives from all sectors of the population.

The leading rabbis present represented a wide spectrum, encompassing the haredi sector and the right wing of the National Religious Party. They included former Shas mentor Ovadia Yosef and the two leading adjudicators of the Ashkenazi yeshiva world, Yosef Shalom Elyashiv and Haim Kanievsky. Also present were the leaders of the hassidic world.

Both Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau and Sephardi Chief Rabbi Eliahu Bakshi-Doron attended the gathering, despite a warning earlier in the day by Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein that they should not attend a gathering which he considered political in nature.

See PROTEST, Page 2

By ELI WOHLGELER

In marked contrast to the deadly serious haredi protest half a kilometer up Ben-Zvi Boulevard, the counterdemonstration in Sacher Park yesterday afternoon was a combination political rally, carnival, and rock concert, attracting upward of 50,000 people of all stripes.

It was a political rally foremost, with a dozen politicians appearing on stage to add their voice to the main message: Israel is a democratic state, and the minority haredim must recognize that fact.

"This is a war!" Meretz leader MK Yossi Sarid told the crowd. "You must understand, this is a war, a war over the character of our beloved country. This is the most important demonstration in the history of the state."

Other speakers included Jewish Agency Chairman Avraham Burg, who repeated his often-delivered mantra that "there must be a division between the Knesset and the beit knesset (synagogue)"; Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan; Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, who ignored the smattering of boos he received and said, "There is no way that the deciding majority of the citizens of Israel will let the haredim destroy the High Court of Justice"; MK David Levy, who spoke of the haredim, saying, "Do not by your utterances cut yourself off from the branch upon which we all live"; and Centrist Party candidate Ronni Milo.

While her mother Leah stood to the side, Dalia Rabin-Peloss, daughter of former prime minister

Yitzhak Rabin, said: "We must demonstrate against whoever protests against the basic principles of the rule of law and democracy."

She was preaching to the converted, as the crowd was there to do just that, and would be quick to rally for the cause again if called upon. The mixed multitude included the left-wing Meretz, with the most visible and numerous signs on the lawn, as well as the right-wing Tsomet; the utterly secular as well as the religious, from all denominations.

"It's embarrassing that so few kippot are here," said David Nerdavid, who is Orthodox. "If we're going to have a national-religious community that embraces the 50 years of the state, then you have to be here [at this rally] and not there."

Rabbi Levi Weiman-Kelman, of Reform Congregation Kol Haneshtama, said on his way to the demonstration that he was "hoping that this is a rally in favor of democracy and Judaism together, and not anti-haredi — I do not identify with an anti-haredi statement, only with a pro-democracy and pro-Jewish statement."

The gathering was more than a protest demonstration, as the unseasonably warm weather beckoned friends from different political and youth organizations to take part and share a memorable afternoon.

How else to explain a photographer selling Polaroid snapshots for those wanting to capture the moment?

See COUNTER, Page 2

Cabinet clash erupts over religious issues

PM, Barak, Mordechai stay away from rallies

By DANA HARMAN

While demonstrators at the two opposing rallies kept the peace yesterday, ministers at the weekly cabinet meeting, heated accusations at one another. They argued for close to an hour about who is at fault for letting the haredi community's grievances against the Supreme Court get out of hand.

Meanwhile, the three main prime ministerial candidates all seemed to talk in a similar voice, trying to avoid directly criticizing the haredim, while making it clear

that the attacks on the court are unacceptable.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, Center Party leader Yitzhak Mordechai, and Labor Party head Ehud Barak commented variously throughout the day about the need for reconciliation — but none of them attended either rally.

While Mordechai's role in the situation, the real-blame game was left to the cabinet members.

Industry and Trade Minister Nathan Sharansky argued that the government has not managed to keep sufficient separation between political and religious interests, and has thus contributed to the haredi outburst. He pointed to the failure of the government to adopt the recommendations of the Neeman Commission on conversion or to convene the court-

ordered committee on inducing yeshiva students into the military, and to the fact that the court decision on religious councils was not enforced.

"There were those who blame Yisrael Ba'aliya for creating haredi frustration because we wanted the status quo defined," said Sharansky after the meeting. "I say we need discussion, we need to bridge the tensions... and we needed the government to play that role before it is forced to do so by Supreme Court pressure. If the government had carried out its duties, we could have avoided the situations we got into today."

Transportation Minister Shaul Yahalom blamed Sharansky and Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein. "You halted the strength of the religious initiatives... and demanded a compromise. Therefore you are to

blame for the situation in the haredi street," he reportedly said.

Netanyahu admitted that he regretted that the various gatherings and demonstrations had not been canceled. According to the cabinet statement, Netanyahu said that the order of the day is to foster dialogue, with the aspiration of achieving national reconciliation.

"For the Jewish people, nationality and religion are intertwined, and it is impossible to define the Jewish people by completely separating its national identity from its religious identity," he said.

He said that certain elements among the demonstrators are seeking to inflame passions, "but that the existence of the Jewish people is conditioned upon its ability to transcend internal schisms."

See RALLIES, Page 2

The no-shows at the shows of force

ANALYSIS

By SARAH HONIG

When the din of the twin giant political happenings in the capital finally dies — presumably after the elections are fought and won by someone — there should at least be attempts to prevent the looming culture war.

With that in mind, perhaps the most hopeful development yesterday was the fact that none of the major prime ministerial candidates showed up at either rally.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, Labor Party chairman Ehud Barak, and Center Party leader Yitzhak Mordechai all had the best of reasons to stay away. Each did not attend for his own set of expediencies. But whoever wins on June 1 will have to handle adroitly this hottest of potatoes. He will perform have to become

the peacemaker. By not showing up, none of the potential winners yesterday nullified his chances to play the part of the national healer.

This despite the fact that Barak had already given up on religious votes and is basing much of his campaign essentially on haredi-bashing. His absence originally may have had nothing to do with considerations of long-range responsibility. The large secular rally began as a Meretz affair and Barak was not going to be seen as toeing a junior partner's line. But what matters ultimately is that he was not there.

The same goes for Mordechai. He could not be seen with former chief rabbi Ovadia Yosef at the haredi protest and may have felt uncomfortable to be among Yosef's most abhorred adversaries on the Left, especially after he had rushed to kiss the Shas mentor's beard immediately after throwing his hat in the ring.

Mordechai's absence was compensated for by the prominent presence of his antithesis in his party, Ronni Milo, famous for his anti-religious diatribes. But what counts is not the reason so much as the outcome — Mordechai was not there.

Netanyahu had tried for most of last week to play the go-between and with very good reason.

See ANALYSIS, Page 2

Hawatmeh fired over Weizman handshake

DAMASCUS (Reuters) — An alliance of radical Palestinian factions opposed to peace with Israel yesterday sacked Nayef Hawatmeh and his Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), because he shook hands with President Ezer Weizman at King Hussein's funeral in Jordan last week.

"The meeting decided to drop the membership of the DFLP from the preparatory committee, because of its leader's shameful action," a spokesman for the Supreme National Preparatory Committee said.

The committee, also grouping the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Islamic Jihad, Hamas, and other radical factions, was set up in Damascus in December to foil the Palestinian-Israeli deal sealed at Wye Plantation in the United States.

"The meeting considered Hawatmeh's action as a violation of the Palestinian Charter and decisions by the National Palestinian Conference. The meeting also condemned Hawatmeh's move as harming the Palestinian cause and blocking efforts to unify the Palestinian ranks," he said.

A spokesman for Hawatmeh's DFLP, responding to Reuters' questions about the committee's move, strongly condemned the actions, saying his group was not invited to the meeting to explain its leader's move.

"We were surprised by this action, which was made without any contact with us. We were not given a chance to explain our position," the spokesman said.

NEWS

in brief

Nuclear monitoring station to be built in Egypt

The head of an international body charged with stopping nuclear tests said yesterday it would set up a monitoring station in southern Egypt.

The organization will build a \$4 million main station in the Egyptian town of Luxor, Wolfgang Hofmann, executive secretary of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), said. "The station will work 24 hours a day, seven days a week, to monitor the banning of nuclear tests in the region and Israel."

Egypt has signed the CTBT, but has yet to ratify it. The entry into force of the treaty, opened for signature in September 1996, depends on ratification by 44 nuclear "threshold states."

Reuters

IAF jets hit Hizbullah bases

Air force jets attacked suspected Hizbullah bases in south Lebanon yesterday. The targets were in a valley between the villages of Zibzine and Jhal al-Boutou just north of the western sector of the security zone, reports from Lebanon said.

Hizbullah reported attacks on four Israeli positions in the security zone. The IDF confirmed that Hizbullah guerrillas shelled two IDF and two SLA militia outposts in the western sector, causing no casualties and only minor structural damage. The army said IDF and SLA artillery went into action shortly later, striking at Hizbullah mortar squads. It was not clear if any were hit.

Arieh O'Sullivan

Air quality poor in Gush Dan

There were 374 deviations from air pollution standards last month in the Gush Dan area according to data collected by Environment Ministry monitoring units in Tel Aviv and several towns in the region.

There were 363 deviations above permitted concentrated levels of nitric oxide measured during 30-minute periods on 18 days and 11 deviations above the daily permitted levels; there were also three days on which some or all of the units measured beyond the permitted levels of carbon monoxide.

Ministry Director-General Roni Komar said the quantity of air pollution shows poor air quality in the Gush Dan region and requires the government to take measures to reduce it.

Liat Collins

Blood donated to fire-struck Indonesia

Magen David Adom has sent more than 300 kilos of blood and equipment to Indonesia following the destruction of Jakarta's blood bank in one of the many fires that have ravaged the nation over recent months. Indonesia, a Muslim country, does not have diplomatic relations with Israel, but an international voluntary organization appealed to MDA and blood banks in various parts of the world for help. The shipment included 200 blood units and an insulated container of chemicals for typing blood. The shipment was sent with the blessing of the Foreign Ministry and help from Israel's embassy in Singapore.

Judy Siegel

Grave of prominent Jewish leader restored

BERLIN — Ruth Galinski, the widow of German Jewish leader Heinz Galinski, yesterday officiated at a ceremony restoring the memorial stone on her husband's grave, destroyed in a bomb attack in December by suspected right-wing extremists.

Interior Minister Otto Schily attended the ceremony, as did the president of Germany's Constitutional Court Jutta Limbach, the acting chairwoman of the Central Council of Jews Michel Friedman, and Berlin Jewish leader Andreas Nachama. Galinski headed the Central Council of Jews from 1980 until his death in 1992. He had headed Berlin's Jewish community since 1949.

AP

Sexual assault victim returns to school

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

"Death, only death" is the punishment deserved by the man who sexually assaulted a nine-year-old Petah Tikva girl last week, the girl's mother said yesterday.

The third-grader went back to school yesterday after her family, the school principal, and school psychologists determined she was ready to do so.

The girl's mother said she would attend suspected attacker Elkayam Hananel's trial and that he deserves to die for molesting her child.

"I wouldn't hurt a fly, but if you left him with me, I've got no idea what I'd do to him — with plea-

sure," she said.

An Education Ministry committee yesterday began to investigate how the girl's attacker managed to enter the school without being noticed, despite a security guard supposedly being on duty at the main entrance.

Calling her daughter "brave," the girl's mother told Army Radio yesterday the girl is struggling valiantly to deal with what happened to her, "although occasionally she has problems. Her main fear is that he will come back and murder her, as he threatened," she said.

She said that alleged attacker Hananel had tried to have intercourse with her daughter but failed, and described how her the

girl later saw him on television and responded: "Here he is, mom, just like I told you." Her description had helped lead to his arrest.

"I've come to know a daughter who is a hero," she added. "She did everything she had to do."

"I'm only being interviewed so that people will talk about these things, so they teach their children they don't have to be afraid, and that they have to speak about everything that happens," the mother said.

"Mothers should not be afraid to file complaints, and society should accept the victim as a victim, and not as the accused, and help them like they helped us... She need not be embarrassed, and we will give

her all the tools necessary to deal with this. She's not guilty, and I hope that's how people will treat her."

Commenting on the incident, National Parents Association chairman Shai Lachman said Friday his association had raised the issue of additional unguarded entrances to large schools, like the ones that exist at the girl's school in Petah Tikva.

"There was a time when all the entrances were guarded, but this was later cut back and it was decided that the other entrances would be locked, and there would just be one guard at the main entrance," Lachman said. "But this isn't always possible, because there are

schools spread out over a wide area and children enter them from several points. It's hard to expect them to make a big detour just to enter a main, guarded gate. So these entrances are sometimes open and allow unwanted people to enter the school, sometimes without anyone noticing. This incident may be an example of that."

"The authorities, the police and the schools must take immediate, strong action to see to it that these kinds of things don't continue," Lachman said, "because they are turning the schools into an unsafe place and creating a feeling of insecurity among the pupils, some of whom are beginning to be afraid to come to school."

Nimrodi released after 4 months in jail

Ma'ariv chairman Ofer Nimrodi said he is ready to get back to work, heading straight to the newspaper's offices after he was released from prison yesterday morning.

Nimrodi, who served 4.5 months of an eight-month sentence for wiretapping journalists at Yedioth Aharonot, said that he had not yet decided in what capacity he would return to the paper.

He rejected a decision by the Press Council's ethics committee barring him from returning to the paper, condemning the council for making the decision while he was not present.

"This decision is powerless and has no weight in my eyes," Nimrodi said, adding that he's not going to bother to appeal it.

Nimrodi said that he will do what he feels is best for the paper, after consulting with his family and Ma'ariv's board and editors.

He also said that it is unfair that only he, and not Yedioth's editors, was punished for "the dirty war" [in which Yedioth] forced me to react.

Nimrodi was sentenced in July in the country's most celebrated wiretapping case, when he also received a 10-month suspended sentence for wiretapping several senior Yedioth editors and was also fined NIS 1.1 million.

David Ronen, who was responsible for security at Hachsharot Hayishuv, the Nimrodi company that owns Ma'ariv, was sentenced to six months of community service, a six-month suspended sentence, and fined NIS 100,000.

(Iim)



Ma'ariv chairman Ofer Nimrodi leaves Ramle's Ma'asayahu Prison yesterday morning. (Israel Sun)

Kidney patients protest dialysis franchise

By JUDY SEGEL

A Jerusalem-based organization representing patients requiring kidney dialysis to stay alive will this week file suit in the High Court of Justice against Kupat Holim Clalit for shifting them from public hospitals to a private clinic — and against Health Minister Yehoshua Matza for "failing to ensure minimum quality" in dialysis services.

The Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Rights of Kidney Patients said that the health fund was forcing patients to transfer to a private dialysis clinic merely in order to save money "at the expense of higher quality."

The organization, chaired by Yehoshua Lustig, said that its members, all of whom have permanent kidney failure, would die without getting their blood cleansed several times a week.

Until now, their dialysis has been supervised by senior nephrologists at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Karem and the capital's Bikur Holim Hospital, who are well familiar with each case and hospitalized the patient if anything goes wrong.

But, said Lustig, Clalit published a tender and selected the winner "according to the lowest price" without setting criteria for high-quality medical treatment. When those taking part in the tender were asked what standards they must meet, the health fund said it could not give them such directives.

The organization claimed the private company that won the tender, Afek, had higher death rates than the other private institutions.

The organization added that Matza, despite previous promises, had not ensured medical supervision over private dialysis institutes; its lawyer has demanded that the transfer to the private company be frozen until the high court rules.

The suit cites severe criticism of the ministry in the 1996 State Comptroller's Report.

The ministry was found to have dealt negligently with the topic of dialysis and allowed any entrepreneur to open a dialysis institute without appointing necessary standards for expertise, safety and quality.

The Clalit spokeswoman said that Afek won the tender "after meeting tough standards" set by the health fund.

The "smear campaign" against Afek had been launched by another private company, Hakliya, whose bid lost out to Afek, she added, and that "some of the medical interests that have triggered the protests are affiliated commercially" with Hakliya.

For example, one professor who is chairman of the Israel Nephrology Society serves as medical director of Hakliya and is on its payroll, she charged.

Croatian defense minister on visit here

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

Croatian Defense Minister Pavlo Miljavec is being hosted today by his Israeli counterpart Moshe Arens.

Miljavec is the recently appointed Arens' first guest and will be received with full military honors this morning at the Tel Aviv Defense Ministry. He will then attend a briefing with top Israeli defense officials.

Miljavec, who arrived yesterday, will also visit defense industries such as Elbit, Rafael and the Israel

Aircraft Industries during his three-day trip. Arens is hosting Miljavec tonight at a festive dinner.

Croatia is keen on cooperating with Israel in the defense field, including joint ventures in hi-tech and consultations on counter-terrorism and law enforcement.

Croatia has recently announced it is reorganizing its military in a bid to reach NATO standards.

Elbit Systems Ltd. and Israel Aircraft Industries have reportedly won a tender, worth an estimated \$30 million, to upgrade Croatia's fleet of MiG-21 BIS fighter jets.

Croatian reports said.

For over a year now, both countries have been quietly exploring a wide range of defense projects. Senior Croatian defense officials have already visited Israel and met with local defense industry executives.

More than a quarter of Croatia's 1999 budget was allotted to the military, but its military expenses have been largely kept top secret.

Croatia, which had been a Nazi puppet state during the Second World War, established diplomatic ties with Israel in 1997.

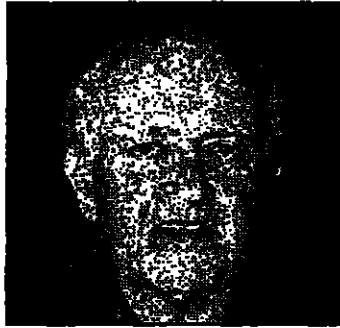
Yisraelovitz fined NIS 20,000

By HEDI J. GLEIT

Former Histadrut treasurer Artur Yisraelovitz was fined NIS 20,000 and given a two-year suspended sentence yesterday for illegally using Histadrut funds to promote his colleagues' electoral campaigns.

Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court cited Yisraelovitz's poor health as one of the reasons for the relatively light sentence.

In addition to funneling millions to the Histadrut's then-secretary-general Haim Haberfeld's 1994 campaign for reelection, Yisraelovitz hired a detective agency to investigate Haberfeld's opponent, Haim Ramon. The agency received



Artur Yisraelovitz (Liam Ocsendyver, Israel Sun)

NIS 577,922 to investigate Ramon. Ramon said he was satisfied with

the sentence, adding he holds no grudge against Yisraelovitz.

"What the court found is what I said in public for a long time, and what I tried to change in the Histadrut [when I was chairman]," Ramon said.

Yisraelovitz also was convicted of illegally transferring funds to the campaign of former Histadrut official, Yisrael Kessar, who wanted to be the Labor Party's candidate for prime minister in 1992.

Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz had no comment on the decision, because the events for which Yisraelovitz was convicted happened a long time before Peretz took office, his spokeswoman said.

NY funeral homes said gouging Jewish clients

By MARILYN HENRY

NEW YORK — A funeral home company is gouging Jewish clients, according to a report by the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs, which said it will ask the state attorney-general to investigate anti-trust violations within the city's funeral industry, according to weekend press reports.

The department complained that the Houston-based Service Corporation International (SCI) — which owns at least 10 percent of the 607 registered funeral homes in New York and conducts about 13

percent of the funerals — charges significantly more for Jewish funerals than the independent funeral homes. The company owns five of the six Jewish funeral homes in Manhattan.

According to a department inquiry, the average price of an SCI Jewish funeral in Manhattan is \$4,716; the average price charged by the only independent Jewish operator is \$3,820.

The SCI Jewish funeral homes in Manhattan are Riverside Memorial, Plaza Memorial, Gramercy Park Memorial Chapel, Plaza West-Riverside Chapels, and Frank E.

Campbell, the department said. In Brooklyn, SCI owns Garlick, Kirshenbaum, and JJ Morris. The department cited anecdotal evidence that the SCI homes also pressure grieving families to buy items and services that are unnecessary or shunned in Jewish tradition.

It also cited wide fluctuations in the price of caskets, which may violate federal law. "Jewish people who choose to bury their deceased in a traditional plain pine box can pay as much as \$795 or as little as \$195, depending on where they shop," the department said.

Top Palestinian leaders head for talks with Albright

By BEN LYNNFIELD

Three senior Palestinian leaders were due to leave early today for Washington for talks with US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright on the deadlock in peace negotiations with Israel.

Palestinian and US officials said. The talks also appear likely to focus on ways of enabling Palestinian agreement to defer a declaration of independence beyond the May 4 date that was trumpeted by Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat last fall.

Meanwhile, Jordan rebuffed a call over the weekend by Arafat for a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, saying the initiative was premature and could be discussed only after the Palestinians achieve statehood.

"We cannot preempt the future," Jordanian Information Minister Nasser Joudeh was quoted by Reuters as saying. For now, he added, Jordan's energies will be directed towards helping the Palestinians "attain their full rights on their national soil, meaning the establishment of their national state."

Saeed Erekat, a top negotiator, who is one of the three leaders headed for Washington, told Al-Ayam daily yesterday that he hopes the end of impeachment proceedings against President Bill Clinton will allow the US to redirect its energies towards the peace process.

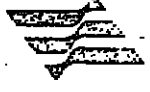
Clinton, said Erekat, "has a special responsibility because he took on the role of supervisor and overseer of implementation by the two sides" at Wye.

Israel has suspended further troop withdrawals, faulting the Palestinians for an alleged lack of security cooperation.

Erekat will be joined by PLO Executive Committee secretary-general Mahmoud Abbas, and PA Minister of Planning and International Cooperation Nabil Shaath.

Larry Schwartz, spokesman for the US Embassy in Tel Aviv, said the US-Palestinian meetings are to be held within the context of a binational commission that is supposed to meet from time to time to improve relations.

However, he did add, "it is possible" the timing of the statehood declaration will be discussed.



ISRAEL PORTS AND RAILWAYS AUTHORITY
HEAD OFFICE

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Automatic Telescopic Spreaders for Container Handling Cranes

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Up to 8 Automatic Telescopic Spreaders for Container Handling Cranes
(hereafter the "Spreaders")
Plus an option for up to 10 additional Spreaders
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NATO threat remains as Kosovo talks extended

By PATRICK WORSNIP

PARIS (Reuters) - The big power Contact Group yesterday extended stalled Kosovo peace talks for a second and final week while the United States warned Belgrade it faced NATO air strikes if it blocked a peace deal with ethnic Albanians.

Foreign ministers of the Group, meeting in Paris, reviewed the meagre progress in the week-long talks but found the groundwork for a deal by next weekend had been laid, French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine told journalists afterwards.

Serbian President Milan Milutinovic stuck to Belgrade's high-stakes negotiating tactics by rejecting the NATO peace-keeping force the Group wants to station in Kosovo to help implement a settlement with wide autonomy for the province.

"We have decided to extend the talks for an additional week," Vedrine said after a meeting of the

Group - the United States, Russia, France, Britain, Germany and Italy.

"They must conclude on Saturday February 20 at noon at the latest," Vedrine said. "This is a decisive moment in the search for peace in Kosovo." US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who brought the rival Serbian and ethnic Albanian delegations together for their first face-to-face meeting earlier on Sunday, warned them now to get down to business and end the 11-month conflict in the southern Serbian province.

"The threat of NATO air strikes remains real," she declared.

"Nothing less than decisive action from NATO and the Contact Group will keep both sides focused on the task at hand." After her visit to the talks at Rambouille near Paris, seen as a make-or-break intervention in the high-pressure negotiation, Albright said she had confronted both delegations with the message that they were now at "a fork in the road."

"One fork leads to chaos, disaster and more killing. The other fork leads to a rational solution that will achieve peace, democracy and human rights for all the people of Kosovo," she told a news conference.

"I hope the Serbs will see it in their interests to sign," she said. Belgrade has so far refused to proceed until the ethnic Albanians sign a set of joint principles.

The ethnic Albanians refused to sign that list formally, fearing a clause on respect for current borders would rule out any future independence for the province.

Albright said of the ethnic Albanian side: "Their delegation recognizes that the Contact Group plan is a fair deal for the people of Kosovo and there is every indication that they will be ready to sign by the time the conference is over." Albright blamed the Serbian delegation for the logjam in the talks over the past week but said she did not find Belgrade's delegates hostile to her when she met them.



An Eritrean soldier crosses an old border post between the Eritrean village of Serha and the disputed Ethiopian town of Zalembea on Saturday. Zalembea has been occupied by Eritrea since June.

Iranian group: Rushdie will be killed

TEHERAN (AP) - On the 10th anniversary of the edict against British writer Salman Rushdie, an Iranian foundation that has put a price on his head said yesterday that it remained valid and would be carried out.

"The idea of Rushdie's annihilation is still very much alive and seeks only the right moment," Ayatollah Hassan Sanati said in a statement published in the hard-line *Jomhuri Islami* daily. "There are many people in different countries who are ready to carry out this verdict. Surely, this verdict will be implemented one day."

Sanati's Khordad Foundation, a semi-official charity organization, has offered a \$2.8 million reward to anyone who kills Rushdie.

10 years ago yesterday the late Iranian political leader Ayatollah Khomeini issued a fatwa proclaiming that Rushdie was an apostate and should be killed.

Khomeini said the writer had insulted Islam in his novel *The Satanic Verses*.

The Farsi-language newspaper published a 16-page supplement to mark the anniversary.

Khomeini's fatwa, which Iran says is irrevocable, has divided hard-liners and moderates inside the Islamic government.

Moderate President Mohammed Khatami has been trying to improve relations with the West since he took office last year.

His government in September tried to distance itself from the Rushdie affair by saying it would not be associated with any reward offered for the writer's death.

Rushdie was forced into hiding after the fatwa was issued.

But he has begun to appear in public more often since last September's announcement.

Rushdie, 51, has been granted a visa to visit his native India, but it is not known when he intends to travel there.

The hard-line *Teheran Times* suggested earlier this month that Rushdie could be killed there by Indian Muslims.

11 die in Indonesian unrest

By LEWA PARDOMUAN

JAKARTA (Reuters) - At least 11 people were killed and more than 40 others injured as new clashes between Muslims and Christians erupted in Indonesia's spice islands yesterday.

Residents said 11 people were killed and 30 houses torched when villagers clashed on Haruku island, close to the island of Ambon where more than 100 died in sectarian unrest last month.

"The riots happened after Karu village, where Christians live, was attacked by people from Pelawu, who are Muslims. Troops have been sent there and some of the injured people have been evacuated to Saparua island and also Ambon," a local journalist told Reuters by telephone from Ambon.

The official Antara news agency said the clashes later spread to nearby Saparua island, where at least 18 houses were burned, and about 60 people sought refuge at the local police station.

Government and security officials in the islands said they were investigating the violence.

Antara reported that Saparua police chief Lt. Tahuli confirmed there had been riots there, but said

there were no reports of deaths or injuries. Tahuli said the burned houses were located in two villages.

Suardi Koli, head of the Haruku island administration, was quoted by Antara as saying 11 people were killed, 43 injured, and dozens of houses burned during the riots.

"But the situation has been brought under control because of the arrival of troops from the mobile brigade and also from Kostad [strategic reserve]," he said. Koli was quoted as saying that some people were injured because they tried to attack the soldiers. He said there were no reports of damage suffered by places of worship.

Muslim-Christian violence first exploded on Ambon on January 19 and ravaged the island for days. Much of the town of Ambon was left in ruins and Indonesia's official human rights commission says more than 160 people were killed.

Many observers have blamed the violence on so-called "provocateurs," but so far nobody has been prepared to say who was behind the unrest.

Antara said that of 141 people arrested last month on suspicion of inciting the violence, 12 people had been identified as provocateurs.

Heavy casualties claimed in Red Sea battles

By ROSALIND RUSSELL

ADDIS ABABA (Reuters) - Ethiopia said it inflicted heavy casualties on Eritrea yesterday in fresh fighting on a new front southwest of the strategic Red Sea port of Assab.

Eritrea said it shot down an Ethiopian Mi-24 helicopter gunship over the frontline, killing the crew. Ethiopia later confirmed the loss.

An Eritrean government spokesman said artillery exchanges had

died down and there had since been only sporadic shelling.

"The intensity and duration of the shelling suggested to us that, as before, the Ethiopians would follow it up with infantry, but this was not forthcoming," spokesman Yermene Gebremeskel said.

Both sides blamed the other for starting yesterday's fighting.

Both sides have since massively reinforced the 1,000-km. border, digging large and well-equipped armies into front-line trenches.

WORLD

in brief

German killed by Iranian gunman

TEHERAN (Reuters) - An Iranian gunman shot dead a German banker, Heinrich Lembert, in a shootout near Qom on Saturday, after taking him hostage while being chased by police, the Iranian Foreign Ministry said yesterday. The newspaper *Kayhan* said Mohammed Farahani, 24, also shot dead three Iranians, including a policeman, during a car chase, before being killed by police. The chase began when Farahani tried to kidnap a girl he wanted to marry and her family called the police.

Germans face charges over death of Algerian

GUBEN, Germany (Reuters) - Five right-wing German youths accused of hounding an Algerian asylum-seeker to his death, were to be charged yesterday with manslaughter, prosecutors said.

The man, 28, bled to death early on Saturday after crashing through a glass entrance door to a block of flats in an attempt to escape the youths, who had been pursuing him in a car and yelling racist slogans. Despite attempts by local residents to give first aid, the man died after severing an artery in his knee as he tried to break through the door.

German union sets strike vote

FRANKFURT (Reuters) - Germany's most powerful union yesterday resolved to ballot members in a key state on all-out strike action there, but left the door to a peaceful wage settlement fractionally open. It ruled out any immediate ballot for a nationwide strike in its pay row with employers. IG Metall leaders said they would give negotiations one last chance and meet employers at mediated talks this week to try to end the wage dispute.

But union leaders also said they would call a strike vote in the southwestern state of Baden-Wuerttemberg if a deal is not struck by Wednesday.

Taliban cleric suspects bin Laden hasn't fled

PESHAWAR, Pakistan (Reuters) - A leading Islamic cleric close to the Taliban movement said yesterday he believes terrorism suspect Osama bin Laden is still in Afghanistan, and cast doubts on reports that he has "gone missing." "He is not a weak man, nor is he so stupid to leave Afghanistan. I do not think the Taliban would be so discourteous to have asked him to leave," the cleric said.

Testimony to begin in Texas race murder

JASPER, Texas (Reuters) - Testimony is set to begin this week in the trial of a reputed white supremacist accused of killing a black man by dragging him to his death behind a pickup truck.

Opening arguments in the capital murder trial of John William King were scheduled for tomorrow in state District Judge Joe Bob Golden's court after attorneys last week selected a jury of seven men and five women.

Valentine's dream wedding ends up on warship

SPLIT, Croatia (Reuters) - A British soldier and her sailor fiancé, forced to abandon plans for a dream wedding on a tropical island when duty called, ended up tying the knot on a warship in the chilly Croatian port of Split on Valentine's Day.

"Our original plan was to go to Sri Lanka, to the Maldives, but my tour out here was extended and we couldn't make it," Staff Sgt. Jacqui O'Rourke, who serves with the NATO-led peace-keeping force in Bosnia, told Reuters television.

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The 'running' coach

Possibly? Wanna be a Knesset member? Just pick a party (that's the hard part) and call Zvi Rimon.

"The air is electric with politics, and people believe that the way things are now, out of control, they have a real chance to slip in," Rimon chuckles. "People think Amnon Shahak is sitting and worrying, oy-oy-oy, who will fill our slots?"

Rimon's eyes crackle with amusement. A media adviser and author of *Political Marketing*, he placed an ad in a newspaper offering his services to Israelis looking to get into politics – and oh, the responses he got.

"One lady thought all you have to do is call me and poof, you're an MK. A guy called, sounded intelligent, but a little, uh, different. Anglo-Saxon accent."

Jerusalem area. He says, "Look, I'm starting up a new party that's further right than Kahane. Are you willing to work with us?"

"I said, 'I didn't know there was anything to the right of Kahane.'"

"He said, 'Oh yeah, there's us.' I said, 'That's all right, we're professionals, we can work with anybody.'"

"He said, 'Look, I should mention, we're a messianic party.' Rimon grins, and shakes his head in disbelief. "I told him, 'Well, I might have a problem with messianic politicians.'"

It sounds a bit fishy, a scam to reel in foolish dreamers. But Rimon was interested only in finding candidates who were serious and prepared – and prepared for the worst. Of the 100 people who called his Tel Aviv office, he chose five to work with. And he makes it clear to all what their chances are.

"Just about zero," he admits.

The air is electric with politics, and people believe that the way things are now they have a real chance to slip in

THE people who can best benefit from his services – which range from copywriting, letters, pamphlets, photography and introductory videos to image- and confidence-building – are residents of the periphery, beyond Hadera and Gedera.

"They're not well-connected, they're not media-wise, they don't know the insiders, the veterans, they really need help. And not everyone has that kind of money."

Right. Money. "You need \$30-50,000 to take a shot in the primaries. In a normal election year, it could take more than \$100,000. We charge \$150 per hour plus a retainer fee of anywhere from \$3,000 to \$10,000."

Then again, Esther Salmovitz made it to the Knesset on a 50-shekel hairdo.

Three of his chosen five know they have no chance this year – they want to start preparing now for the next elections.

"They say, 'Put me on the map. They want to attract attention.' Four are men. All live in the periphery."

There are four sabras and a North African, average age 35-45, two are university graduates, all are married ("very important"). All have opted for the big parties. None will earn so much as a mention in the newspapers, except in their own fantasies.

"Mind you," he laughs, "this year we expect at least 30 different parties in the Knesset, so you never know."

ME: I say, "Do I have potential? Could you put me in the Knesset?"

He looks me up and down.

"If you came to me, I would

ask: 'Why do you want to go into politics?'"

"Um, because I want to improve the country."

"And you think you could do that as an MK?"

"Yes."

"Now I would try to determine what kind of a person you are: naive idealist, cynical idealist; what kind of engine you have: turbo, or moped. Do you have lightning in your eyes? Are you hungry? If you say 'I'd like to try...' – forget it."

"Then, where do you want to run – big, small or new party?"

"Let's say... Meridor."

"OK. You want to run with Meridor. Good. Based on the way you're dressed, in Meretz, you'd be fine, for Labor, you look like a shlepper. (I'm wearing a

brown corduroy shirt, quite nice, actually.)"

"Then, I'll compare your answers: You may have a great CV for Rehavia voters, but if you want to run in a Kachist party, forget it, you won't get two votes. How do you look to the public?"

"Well, I'd get a different shirt."

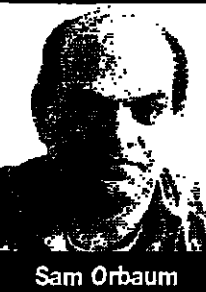
"Forget the shirt. Are you known? What's your academic background? Your IDF rank? If you're a captain, and your competitor is a lieutenant colonel, sit, relax, you have no chance."

"You have to make people understand three things: Why you? Why you and not the other guy? Why is it worth voting for you?"

Now I've got to know. "Give it to me straight." I say, "I can take it."

"Would I have a chance? With my pathetic accent, and my corduroy shirt?" He looks me in the eye.

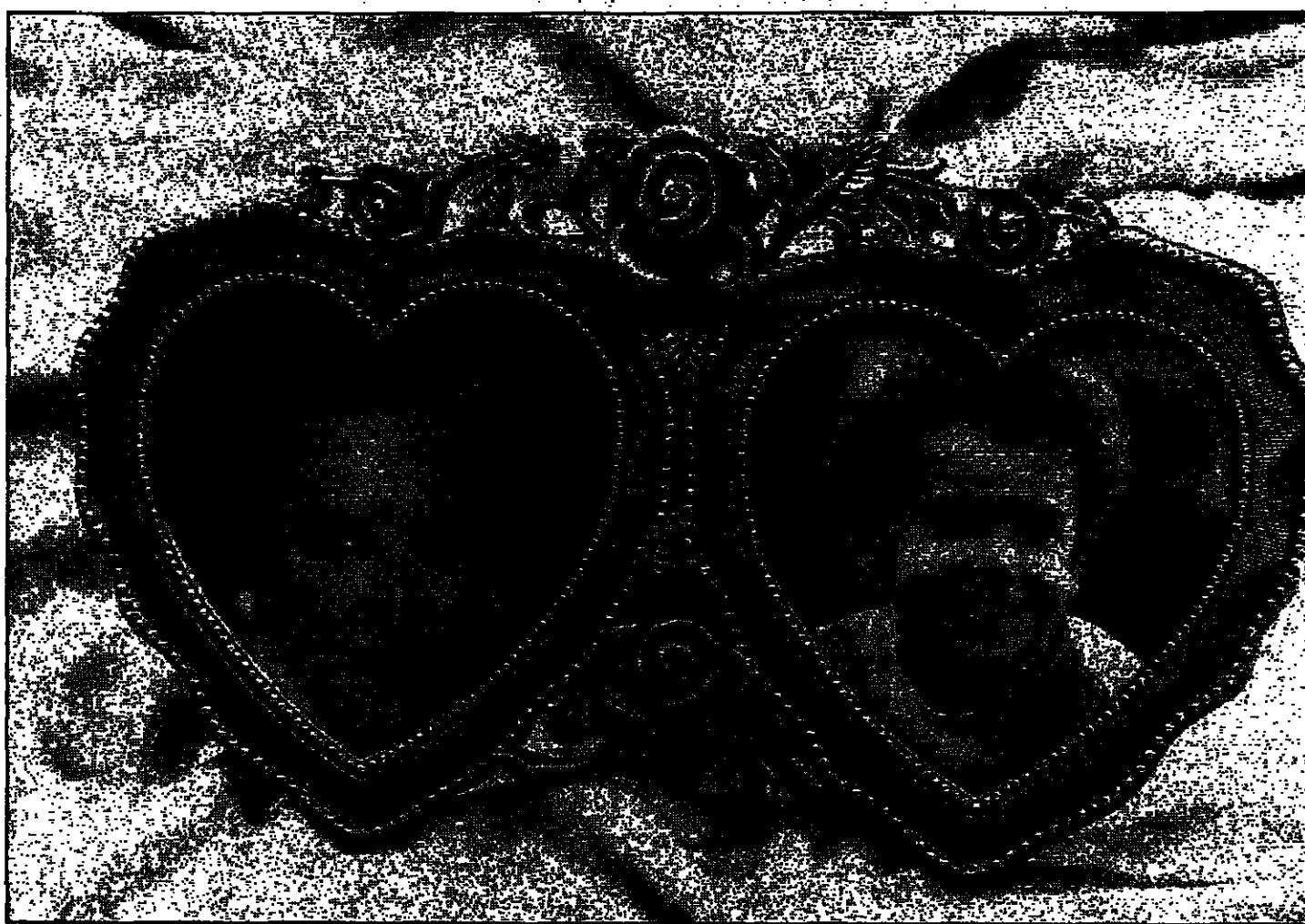
Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

Giving mother her due

If you want to be politically correct you can call it Family Day, but tomorrow is when Israeli moms get breakfast in bed and unnaturally well-behaved children. **Michal Yudeiman reports**



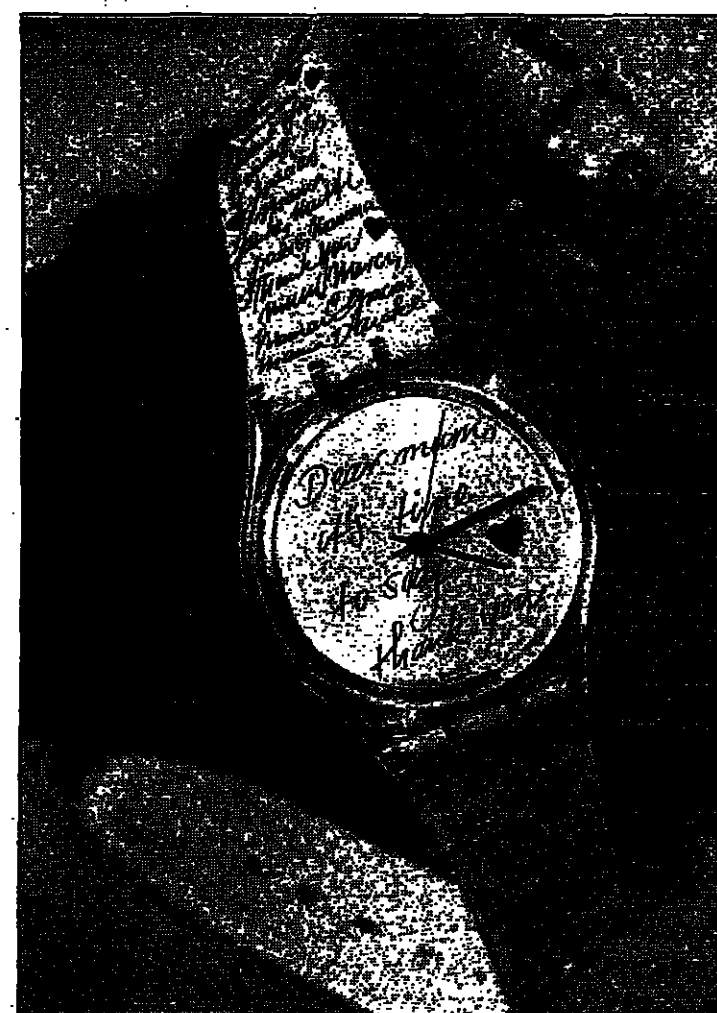
Twin heart-shaped photo frames from Beitili, NIS 42.

(Jonathan Reif)



Beitili's tray with folding legs, NIS 128.

(Jonathan Reif)



Swatch's Mother's Day watch, NIS 195.

father and mother portraits. Beitili, NIS 42.

Another way of spoiling mother is to get her a Soft Touch kit including alpha body-cream, alpha body-scrub and alpha body-contour gel. Available at Superpharm and other pharms, NIS 124.

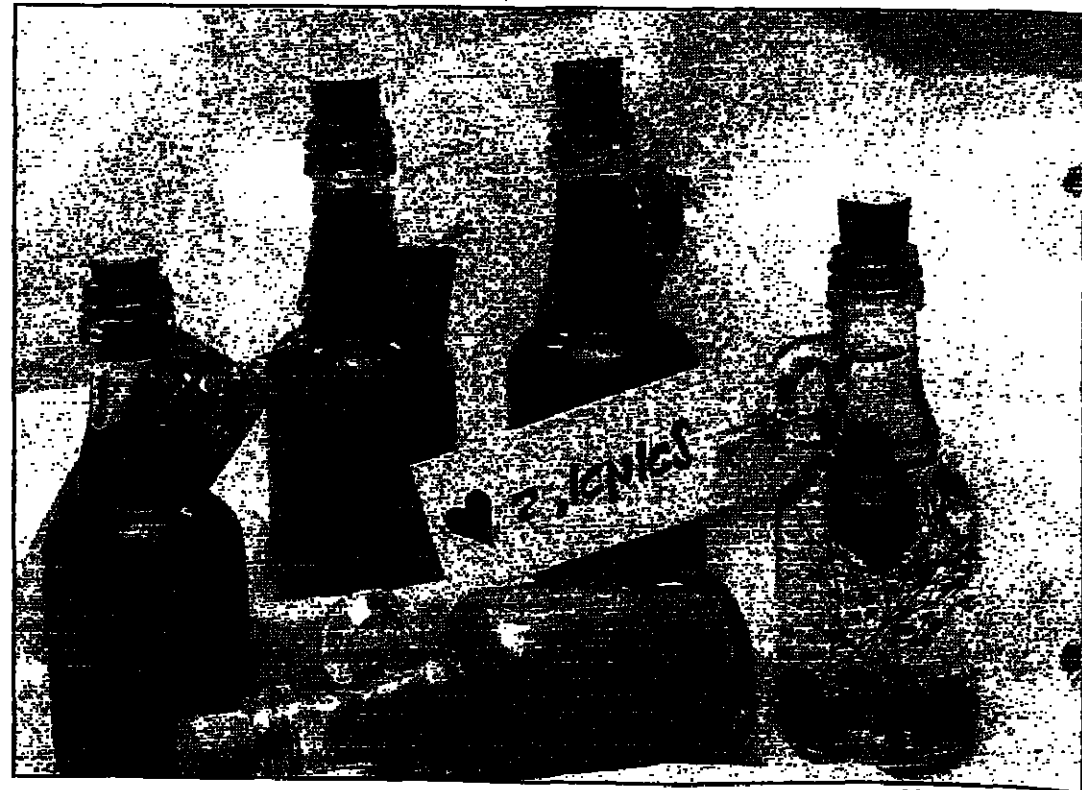
Superpharm has also stocked its shelves with heart-shaped sponges and potpourri boxes, a mouse-shaped massager with wooden beads and other gifts suitable for Mother's Day.

April stores have come up with

a "Mother's Day Special:" buy Angel perfume of Thierry Mugler 25 ml. for NIS 229 and get a free perfume sachet, bath flakes wand, bath gel and lotion samples.

Palphot, the card manufacturer, has issued a special edition of Mother's Day cards and colorful bottles with bath foam and body lotion for NIS 12 each. At all Palphot card outlets.

Heart-shaped sponges and potpourri boxes, a wooden mouse shaped massager and other gifts are available at Superpharm.



(Left) Soft Touch spoil-yourself kit from Superpharm and elsewhere, NIS 124; (right) Palphot's colorful bottles of bath foam and body lotion, NIS 12 each.

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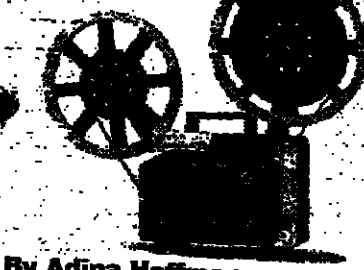
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Much ado about nothing

Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

THE SIEGE

Directed by Edward Zwick. Screenplay by Lawrence Wright. Music by Noyan and Zwick. Hebrew title: *Hametz*. 116 minutes. English subtitles. Children under 17 not admitted without an adult. With Denzel Washington, Annette Bening, Bruce Willis, Tony Shalhoub.

In *The Siege*, director Edward Zwick uses lots of grainy, actual-looking news clips and CNN-styled voice-overs to put forth an alarmist fictional scenario. After a series of devastating terrorist attacks on targets in New York City, the US Army moves to impose martial law on the Arab-American residents of Brooklyn. Tanks roll through mosque-filled neighborhoods; young men who share the bombers' ethnic background are hustled into guarded camps and denied their civil rights; suspects are tortured and even shot to death. To hear Zwick tell it, this sequence of events is more than merely possible: it's a real-and-present constitutional crisis just waiting to happen.

When the picture opened in the United States a few months back, it was widely condemned by Arab-American groups for what was perceived as racism. The movie's detractors claimed that the filmmakers drew an unfair and damaging associative connection

between certain peaceful religious rites, such as ablution before prayer, with violent acts, such as strapping oneself into a vest of dynamite sticks and entering a crowded theater.

While I can't deny that the film's take on Islam is extremely simplistic, I'd defend Zwick on at least this critical count by saying that — if nothing else — he does seem interested in debunking the bigoted view that all Moslems are terrorists. The movie goes out of its way to present the Arab-American masses as the victims of gross governmental chauvinism and to place the hero, an FBI agent played with typical sympathetic poise by Denzel Washington, squarely on the side of the oppressed immigrants. (Tony Shalhoub also appears as the requisite Good Arab, a patriotic American citizen and Lebanese-born federal agent on hand to tilt the stereotypical scales a little.) And to judge from the director's previous earnest attempts to reckon with difficult social subjects — black military service during the Civil War (*Glory*) and the slippery nature of Gulf War-time heroism (*Courage Under Fire*) — I'd wager that he means well.

That said, it's easy enough to see why people were upset by *The Siege*. The film is a crudely sensationalistic mess, and one that almost asks to be misunderstood, so sloppy are its tonal shifts and downright bizarre its ethical perspective. In addition to being hard to follow in places (the hard-boiled dialogue sounds terribly forced and the plot relies for its dramatic pivots on a series of yawn-inducing jurisdictional scuffles between the FBI, the CIA, and military, as represented by earnest Washington, wisecracking Annette Bening and sneering Bruce Willis respectively), the movie shifts almost randomly from high-minded disquisitions on the importance of habeas corpus to the coarsest sort of action-movie gimmickry.

At least twice before a bomb goes off or an apartment is raided



CIA agent Elise Kraft (Annette Bening) helps produce 'a series of yawn-inducing jurisdictional scuffles' in *'The Siege'*

the photography melts into loaded slow-mo and Graeme Ravell's portentous score swells to heighten the tension and tease us a bit: will the bus blow? Will the SWAT team bust down the door and blast another Arab away? Zwick may

genuinely believe he's giving voice to a host of big ideas about the imperiled nature of American civil liberties, but he fritters away all his intellectual credit on sequences like these, which seem to exist only to produce cheap

thrills. Meanwhile, there's a bogus, pointless quality to the director's over-the-top moral outrage — since what he's really agitated about is nothing grander than the far-fetched series of events that he himself has concocted.

Teletubby 'outed'

By PATRICIA WILSON

America's sex cops are on the job, and not even the Teletubbies are safe.

The largest of the four amorphous characters on the British-made children's television show has been "outed" by the conservative religious leader Rev. Jerry Falwell.

Against a backdrop of cries of "sexual McCarthyism" over the exposure and pursuit of Clinton, members of Congress and others for inappropriate amorous exploits, Falwell unmasked Tinky Winky in the current issue of his monthly magazine *National Liberty Journal*. "The character, whose voice is obviously that of a boy, has been found carrying a red purse in many episodes and has become a favorite character among gay groups worldwide," it said.

Further evidence cited included the fact that the androgynous Tinky Winky is purple — the gay pride color, and the antenna on his head is shaped like a triangle — the gay pride symbol.

"These subtle depictions are no doubt intentional, and parents are warned to be alert to these elements of the series," the magazine said.

Falwell did not address the sexual proclivities of La La, Po and Dipsy who are equally shapeless yellow, red and green characters with squiggly antennae and television screens set into their tummies.

They all live in a kind of high-tech igloo with a bug-eyed vacuum cleaner, surrounded by grass, rabbits and flowers. The show premiered in Britain in 1997, came to the United States last year and is due to premiere in Israel on Channel One "sometime soon," said a Channel One spokesperson.

Laurie Fry, director of broadcast promotion at PBS, called the insinuations "mindboggling." "He's supposed to be a toddler, this is a children's show for goodness sake," she said.

And that red purse? "It's Tinky Winky's magic bag, he pulls all kinds of things out of it," Fry said. (Reuters)

Filmmaker Kline dies

Herbert Kline, a documentary filmmaker who sneaked into Eastern Europe to film the Nazi conquest and later told the story of the Holocaust, died earlier this month in Los Angeles after a long illness. He was 89.

Born in Davenport, Iowa, Kline wandered as a youth and wound up in Europe during the turbulent 1930s. During the Spanish Civil War, Kline teamed up with Hungarian photographer Geza Karpas to make the 1936 film *Heart of Spain*, about a Madrid mother who meets the young soldier she saved with a blood donation.

In 1938 he made *Crisis*, about the German conquest of Czechoslovakia, a film recently re-released in Europe. To film *Crisis*, Kline, who was Jewish, bluffed his way into Czechoslovakia by pretending to be pro-Nazi. He filmed

rallies and parades. Nazi storm troopers carried his equipment and follow his directions before the camera.

Kline's 1940 film *Lights Out in Europe* documented Hitler's invasion of Poland. After the war, Kline made *My Father's House*, a 1947 account of Holocaust victims.

Kline later tried but failed to move into mainstream Hollywood as a writer and director. In the 1950s the committed leftist was blacklisted.

After *My Father's House* he did not make another film until 1971's Oscar-nominated *Walls of Fire*, about Mexican artists Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros.

He made two other documentaries after that: *The Challenge of Modern Art* in 1978, narrated by Orson Welles, and *Acting ... Lee Strasberg* in 1979. (AP)

Bolshoi Academy goes international

The upcoming Israeli tour generated so much excitement at the Bolshoi Ballet Academy of Moscow that more Bolshoi Ballet stars begged to be included for the five performances that start on Saturday at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv.

So now the contingent will include five, instead of the original four. They and the students will present excerpts from the ever-popular ballets *Don Quixote*, *La Bayadere*, *The Nutcracker*, *Swan Lake*, *The Sleeping Beauty* and others.

Speaking from her Moscow home, Sophia Golovkina, who has headed the Bolshoi Ballet Academy for almost 40 years, says that her main goal is "to preserve the Russian choreography and school of dance."

Yet the legendary artist, whose passion for dance has left an indelible mark on both the Bolshoi and the world of ballet, and who was dubbed "the perfect technique incarnate," immediately adds: "Technique is nothing. What counts is heart. I want not just to

educate the ballerinas of the 21st century, but the human being, someone with deep knowledge, with a love of arts and emotional development."

Prima ballerina Golovkina first walked through the doors of the then Moscow Academic Choreographic Institute at the age of 10, from 1933 through 1959 she danced the most prestigious and demanding roles in the Bolshoi's productions.

She was especially noticed for her interpretations of Nikiya in *La Bayadere*, the title role in *Raymonda*, *Swanilda* in *Coppelia*, and roles in *Sleeping Beauty*, *The Nutcracker* and *Swan Lake*. She won the most prestigious USSR State Prize for her Diane Mirelle in *The Flames of Paris*, by Assafiev.

At the age of 45, Golovkina made her final exit from the stage and turned to teaching. What she once demanded from herself she has shaped for several decades.

The academy, one of the oldest Russian schools (it traces its history back to 1773), has given to the world great classical dancers, choreogra-

phers and teachers, such as Assaf Messerer, Maya Plisetskaya, Ekaterina Maksimova, Vladimir Vasiliev, Maris Liepa and, in the younger generation, Irek Muhammadov, Nina Ananiashvili and many others.

Today at the academy, 600 students study not only dance, but Russian history, French, and the history of theater and ballet. They must also master a musical instrument.

The Moscow academy, together with Vaganov Institute in St. Petersburg and Perm Ballet school, is one of three main ballet schools in Russia. Its best alumni used to join the Bolshoi Ballet, yet artistically the academy has always been independent from the company, and has thus been able to preserve the classical dance tradition almost untouched.

"Actually, we have nothing to do with the Bolshoi," says Golovkina. "We give concerts there and that's it."

The Bolshoi Ballet Academy takes part in international projects: As a part of Russian-American exchange, the academy, together with Vail Valley Foundation, in 1990 established the Bolshoi Ballet Academy at Vail.

This year, the academy will expand its program to include a World Masters summer program, to include master teachers from throughout the world, thus providing pre-professional dance students with the opportunity to study with the world's finest dance pedagogues.

Nikolai Tsiskaridze, 26, was one of the original four Bolshoi soloists born to come. The Georgian-born dancer with the exceptional technique joined the company in 1992 after graduating from the Bolshoi Academy.

Nature has given the 1.83-meter dancer wonderful tools — an enormous stride, soft legs, a big jump, flexibility. But it took a most experienced teacher Pyotr Pestov, to tame his body. Today, traveling worldwide, Tsiskaridze garners excited reviews.

Nina Semizorova and her husband Mark Peretokin are also appearing. Semizorova's vast repertoire includes leading roles in the main company's productions; she has also an extensive concert program of fragments from classical ballets and ballet miniatures.

Honored as an Artist of Russia and a member of the Bolshoi since 1983, Peretokin constantly takes part in the Bolshoi's performances at home and abroad and dances fragments from classical ballets and modern choreographer's numbers.

Finishing the interview, Golovkina says, "For me, as for a religious person, Israel is not just one more foreign country. We are looking forward to this tour."

Fragile glass still endures

By SHEVI ARNOLD

Audiences coming to The Tall Poppy Theater Company's English-language production of Tennessee Williams' classic, *The Glass Menagerie* will be flung into the period (Depression era) as they walk through the set in Jerusalem's Gerard Behar Center. Performances start February 22.

Although costumes and set design have remained faithful to the time and place, director Kelly Hartog has thrown out all other stage directions. Hartog says, "I never work with what is set. Sound and lighting are integral parts of the play and Tom [Howard Metz] is in charge of [these] technical aspects..."

As the play's narrator, Tom is allowed to color the events he describes; he makes it clear that everything is described from his point of view alone. Tom manipulates the audience by determining how they will view everything that happens in the play.

The Glass Menagerie tells the story of Amanda (played by Dawn Nadel), an aging Southern belle who lives in a grand imaginary past. Amanda tries to run the lives of her daughter Laura (Tania Hershtman), who is as fragile as her glass collection, and her son, Tom — until the arrival of a young man (Charles Albers) unwittingly shatters the illusion that has kept the family from falling apart.

When asked if the play, a microcosm of events that took place in the American South during the Depression, is not dated, Hartog said, "The Glass



Amanda (Dawn Nadel) comforts fragile Laura (Tania Hershtman) in 'The Glass Menagerie.'

Menagerie has been a favorite play of mine for years. Many of the issues in it are just as relevant today, such as the disintegration of the family."

Hartog has never seen it performed on stage or film, and she has asked the rest of her company not to see any other versions until the show is over so that they will

not be swayed by previous interpretations. The company enjoyed discovering the humor of the script during rehearsals and have attempted not to let it get lost.

The play will also be seen by hundreds of Israeli high-school students who will finally be able to experience it the way it was meant to be experienced — per-

formed by what Hartog proudly calls "the only English-language professional company in Israel" — instead of just another piece of dry text that has to be studied for their matriculation examinations.

Hartog founded Tall Poppy last year. Its inaugural production was Ron Elisha's *Two* last summer.



Bolshoi Academy head Sophia Golovkina: 'What counts is heart'

TOWER RECORDS' TOP 15

| THIS WEEK | LAST WEEK | ARTIST | TITLE |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|
| #1 | 5 | ANDREA BOCELLI | ROMAN 28 |
| #2 | 2 | EMMA SHAPPLIN | CARMINE MEO |
| #3 | NEW | KNESIAT HASEHEL | KNESIAT HASEHEL |
| #4 | 1 | V/A | BAST of '98 |
| #5 | 4 | V/A | KOLOIT MIN HASHAMAIM 2 |
| #6 | 2 | BERRY SHAHAROF | NEGIOT |
| #7 | 14 | MADONNA | RAY OF LIGHT |
| #8 | 15 | NIMROD LEO | EIN CHALOM ACHER |
| #9 | RE | CHER | BELIEVE |
| #10 | 9 | U2 | BEST OF '80-'90 |
| #11 | RE | V/A | 50th ANNIVERSARY |
| #12 | 6 | EVAL GOLAN | CHAYAL SHEL AHAVA |
| #13 | 7 | ZEHAVA BEN | HABAYTA LACHAZOR |
| #14 | RE | FAITHLESS | SUNDAY 8 P.M. |
| #15 | 18 | LENNY KRAVITZ | 5 |

Tower Records' top-selling albums for last week

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ON T.V. CHANNEL 9

ADLER Parenting Guide; Ra'anana ESRA College; "THE SIGD" — Spectacular Holy Day of the Ethiopians; SHE'ARIM — Olim noon-time concerts in Netanya; ESRA Events

TEVEL — NOTE NEW TIMES

| ALL AREAS | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|-----------|
| | | Sundays | 4:30 p.m. |
| | | Tuesdays | 4:30 p.m. |
| MATAV — NETANYA AREA | | Mon. & Wed. | 7:30 p.m. |
| | | Sundays | 7:30 p.m. |
| BAT YAM / HOLON AREA | | Tuesdays | 7:00 p.m. |
| HAIFA — TOWN AREA | | Mondays | 5:00 p.m. |
| | | Wednesdays | 5:30 p.m. |
| GALILEE (Tiberias to K. Shmona) | | Sundays | 5:00 p.m. |
| | | Wednesdays | 4:30 p.m. |
| | | Thursdays | 8:00 p.m. |
| ARUTZEI ZAHAV — ALL AREAS | | Tuesdays 9:30 a.m. & 8:30 p.m. | |
| GVANIM — CENTRAL AREA (Mod'in etc.) | | Mondays 3:30 p.m. & 8:30 p.m. | |
| KRAYOT AREA | | Mondays 3:00 p.m. | |

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The rule of law

It seems as if yesterday's splendid spring-like weather also brought with it a sunnier disposition on the part of both sets of demonstrators in Jerusalem. The only tangible damage was, once again, to the quality of life for Jerusalemites who had to suffer closed roads and increased edginess in an already tense city. But it would be wrong to dismiss yesterday's mass haredi demonstration as a one-off event that brought with it no message for the future. Violence - or the lack thereof - is not the only benchmark for measuring the importance of a demonstration.

First, the fact that rival haredi camps managed to unite and agree to hold the rally is itself an achievement for this notoriously factional community. Despite outward uniformity, the haredi world is riven with more rivalries and jealousies than is common even for Israel's highly polarized and splintered society.

Moreover, the very decision to hold the prayer rally caused the State of Israel's top officials, from the president down, to demean themselves by scuttling from one haredi leader to another in a fruitless attempt to postpone the demonstration. The sight of President Ezer Weizman, wearing a large black kippa, making his way last week to the home of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, who only hours before had called all Supreme Court justices evil Sabbath desecrators, among other choice epithets, will be interpreted as a sign of weakness by Yosef's supporters rather than a meaningful attempt at dialogue.

Although little is to be gained by pursuing Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein's instructions to open a police investigation of Yosef, on suspicion of incitement and insulting a public servant - the police would be wise to drop the matter as not being in the public interest - there is a world of difference between ignoring the crude jibes of a politicized rabbi and actually paying him the honor of a presidential visit. Weizman's act of homage, and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's intense involvement in negotiations over the rally, are sure to figure prominently in the haredi parties' calculations as to the political markers they can demand in return for their support in the prime ministerial election campaign. And the less than vigorous defense of the Supreme Court, and Justice Aharon Barak in particular, by the main candidates for prime minister - Netanyahu, Ehud

Barak, and Yitzhak Mordechai - will also not go unnoticed in the haredi world.

Impressive as the haredi turnout was yesterday, the calls of "judicial dictatorship" and "religious persecution" simply do not hold water. As Meimad leader Rabbi Yehuda Amital wrote over the weekend, no High Court decision can actually harm the independence and validity of Halacha, Jewish religious law, because the High Court only rules on secular issues.

For example, religious councils - the latest topic to stir haredi feelings - are not bodies which rule on Halacha; they exist as state-run bodies to administer funding for municipal religious services. Nor can a High Court ruling on the validity of Conservative or Reform conversions for the purposes of registering the convert in the Population Registry determine who is a Jew according to Halacha. Civil registration is one matter, Halacha another.

It is the subtext of the demonstration - perhaps the Rashi would be a more fitting description - that should concern the wider, secular population. Yesterday's protest was a sure sign of the alienation that a large minority in the country feel, a minority which is growing with each passing year. According to some researchers, there are as many as 600,000 haredim in Israel, out of a Jewish population of five million. Forty percent of them are children under the age of 18. Moreover, they are among the poorest groups in Israel. The cities with the highest level of poverty, according to the National Insurance Institute, are also the cities with the highest percentage of haredim: Bnei Brak and Jerusalem. In Bnei Brak, almost half of the city's children live in conditions of poverty.

But much of this poverty is from choice. Many able-bodied haredi men prefer to spend their lives in the study halls of a yeshiva than in the workplace, avoiding conscription into the IDF while also condemning their families to living on state handouts. Here is where the real difficulty lies, for the mixture of poverty and alienation threatens Israeli society.

The need for dialogue between the secular and haredi publics is not over any single High Court ruling, but over the question of how to integrate the growing haredi minority into the wider Israeli society without the haredim compromising their religious beliefs or secular society retreating on the supremacy of the rule of law.

Fight back

YOSEF GOELL

Yesterday's massive haredi demonstration in Jerusalem should be seen not as a legitimate protest against a specific decision by the Supreme Court, but as an all-out challenge to the basic underpinnings of the secular, democratic state of Israel.

As such, it should be a "mitzva" for all Israelis to whom the democratic society and polity which have developed here over the past three-quarters of a century, is dear, to fight that haredi challenge, tooth and nail.

The haredim have always opposed Zionism, the State of Israel, and the modern world, the democratic political system and secular culture.

What has changed in the last few years is that the haredim have become emboldened enough to shift from fighting merely to ensure their own survival as a beleaguered minority to making a serious attempt to dominate all aspects of Israeli society and its lifestyles.

On the other hand, haredi leaders are fearful that if they do not succeed in repeating their success of the 1996 elections, the current opposition parties, representing an enraged non-religious majority, would wipe out all their material and political gains of the past few years.

The success of yesterday's demonstration will thus be measured by the degree to which it will have succeeded in whipping up large parts of the haredi constituency to mobilize to for their parties and for Netanyahu in the May 17 elections for the Knesset and the premiership, and, if necessary, in the June 1 run-off.

But there is a possibility of a boomerang effect. The vulgar attacks on the Supreme Court and its justices, on other secular institutions such as the kibbutzim and on the secular public in general, may awaken large parts of the hitherto complacent secular majority,

Perhaps these latest haredi attacks on the courts will wake up the hitherto complacent secular majority.

The haredi demonstration and the superheated propaganda which was intended to whip up mass haredi and Modern-Orthodox participation, should, however, also be seen as an opening shot in the haredi parties' election campaign.

In the 1996 elections, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was elected to office by a fraction of one percent, which was handed to him on a silver platter by thousands of enthusiastic haredim. Netanyahu repaid them handsomely, with budgets, patronage and legitimacy for their anti-Zionism - to such an extent that many of their leaders have begun to truly believe that the country is ripe for a haredi takeover, and for the onset of a process by which a halachic state and society would supplant secularism and democracy.

which, by its inaction, has enabled spineless secular politicians from both major parties to give in to the haredi demands with impunity.

The first signs of such an awakening could be seen in the hurried mobilization of a secular counter-demonstration.

It is still too early to predict, however, which of these opposing scenarios proves true, or what effect the balance between the different prognoses will have on the elections.

ONE of the most regrettable developments is that significant parts of the religious-Zionist community seem determined to join the haredim, both in yesterday's demonstration and in the broader attack on the Supreme Court. Originally, the religious-Zionist split from the

Dry Bones



haredi world in its search for a synthesis between Orthodox, Zionism and modernism. But it is no secret that in recent years there has been a growing haredization of parts of the national-religious camp, especially among the settlers.

This is a shame, because while real compromise between the haredim and the secular world is highly unlikely, religious Zionists could have a crucial influence on working out a modus vivendi between the secular and the mainstream religious populations. A growing identification of significant parts of that Orthodox mainstream with the haredim could make forging such a modus vivendi much more difficult.

Another matter of regret is the depths of vulgarity - if not depravity - to which some of the rabbinical

harangues have descended. Their frequent comparisons of the secular world to Nazi Germany and the Holocaust has already elicited sharp criticism. There has also always been an in-house haredi exploitation of vulgar sexual allusions which some rabbis have now resorted to openly.

It pays repeating for those who might have missed it, that Shas's foul-mouthed Rabbi Ovadia Yosef last week changed Supreme Court justices with being "unclean copulators".

Despite the fact that they have the title rabbi appended to their names, such reprehensible types deserve our profound contempt, not the fawning evinced in the past few days by President Ezer Weizman and Center Party standard bearer Yitzhak Mordechai.

A house less divided

EFRAIM INBAR

The Palestinian issue are not that great and are more related to nuance than to different approaches.

Moreover, even the possibility of the establishment of a Palestinian state - once regarded as a mortal threat to Israel - does not evoke any longer an uproar in Israeli public opinion. Similarly, the majority within the political elite views such a development merely as a fait accompli to which Israel must adapt.

The Sephardi/Ashkenazi rift also became much less divisive in Israeli society than in the past. The number of such "intermarriages" is on the rise, obfuscating the ethnic differences.

The political system has also responded positively to complaints of discrimination by increasing the number of Sephardi politicians at the local and national level. The past two decades have seen an influx of Sephardi Jews into the middle class and the proportion of university students of Sephardi origin has increased dramatically. While the ethnic anxieties have not disappeared, this issue is no longer politically explosive.

The role of the government in the economy was in the past also a

source of debate. Israel was established with a large public and governmental sector, as part of the prevailing socialist ideology at the time. Over the years, this economic structure came increasingly under criticism and provided ammunition for heated arguments.

Nowadays, privatization is the catchword and nearly all Israelis seem to agree that capitalism is the

best way to assure a higher standard of living. The pursuit of happiness, i.e. money, is unashamedly declared by many new economic entrepreneurs. Ehud Barak, who heads the Labor Party, is even interested in doing away with the name of his own party, which reminds part of the electorate of anachronistic views on economic progress. This bone of contention in Israeli politics has been basically eliminated.

THE only rift within Israeli society which still is of great social, cultural and political importance is the religious-secular divide. The differences in lifestyles and cultural consumption patterns between the Orthodox communities and the rest have actually grown as the non-Orthodox move further away from

their Orthodox roots. Despite various efforts to mitigate the consequences of the growing estrangement of the secular sector from traditional values and Jewish culture, we're in the midst of a Kulturkampf, which has the potential for developing into an unbridgeable rift.

However, this situation does not differ greatly from the affliction of the politics of identity which other western societies undergo. Moreover, a great number of Israelis identify themselves as traditionalists, in the middle of the Orthodox-secular continuum.

Precisely because there are Jews of different degrees of observance and knowledge, the conflict is not between two clearly defined camps, leaving room for mediation and for a modicum of understanding. So far the political system has been successful in cushioning the pressures, but there are no assurances it will continue to do so, particularly when Israeli politics faces growing chances for fragmentation as result of the ill-designed electoral reform. In conclusion, the image of a deeply torn-apart Israel is exaggerated. Moreover, on many issues, divisive in the past, we have seen a coalescence of views. This is good news for the ability of Israeli society to withstand future tests.

The writer is associate professor of political studies and the director of the Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University.

So sorry, Judge Bork

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

who wrote the Civil War amendments) never had the remotest intention of making abortion a constitutional right. Bork vigorously opposed Roe v. Wade.

Presto. Within hours of Bork's nomination, Sen. Edward Kennedy was on the floor of the Senate charging that "Robert Bork's America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions" among other travesties.

That charge was a calumny. Justice Bork could not have outlawed abortion. Just because something is not a constitutional right does not mean that it must be prohibited. The states would still have every right to legalize abortion - as indeed they were doing, one after another, before the Supreme Court preempted the whole process in 1973 in Roe v. Wade.

Nonetheless, Kennedy's charges stuck and spread. Bork's opponents succeeded in portraying him as a reactionary zealot. His nomination was rejected.

FAST forward now 12 years. Who are "original intentists" now? The Democrats, of course.

When Republicans floated the idea of a "finding of fact" - a formal declaration that Clinton had lied

the grand jury - in the president's impeachment trial to precede a vote on removal from office, Senate Democrats rose as one to protest.

Why? Because, said presidential spokesman Joe Lockhart, citing among other authorities Robert Bork, "it goes around the Constitution."

But how to interpret the Constitution? Does it not grow, according to "mainstream" constitutional interpretation, to fit the needs, the beliefs, the habits of a different time? Isn't it reactionary - Borkian - to be frozen in an interpretation of the Constitution 210 years old?

No longer, it seems. Sen. Tom Harkin reached back to Alexander Hamilton in Federalist No. 66 to support his view that a "finding of fact" would be extraconstitutional and dangerous. Sen. Byron Dorgan went Harkin three better, hauling in not just Hamilton but Madison, Franklin and Madison to buttress the same point.

Moreover, for months Democrats had opposed impeachment on the grounds that Clinton's offenses did not constitute "high crimes and misdemeanors" as intended by the framers of the Constitution.

"The intent of the Framers" declared Rep. Sheila Jackson-Lee,

was to impeach only for "acts to undermine or subvert the government."

HYPOCRISY? Of course. Yet hypocrisy, as the famous La Rochefoucauld adage has it, is the homage that vice pays to virtue. By their newfound fealty to the theory of "original intent," Democrats were finally paying homage to Bork.

Now born-again "original intentists," Democrats found themselves saying that if you want to know what the Constitution permits and doesn't, what it means and what it doesn't, there really is, in the end, but one way: Look to the meaning and intent of the Framers. Read the *Federalist Papers*. Consult Madison's notes on the Constitutional Convention. Try as best you can to learn the mind of those who wrote the words themselves. And stay no further.

Recently Bork himself came out publicly against a "finding of fact." He was not the least bit embarrassed to find himself on the Democratic side of this issue. He has stuck to principles throughout.

That is more than can be said for the Democrats, who now, consciously or not, embrace the very "original intent" theory they 12 years ago had proclaimed the end of civilization.

(Washington Post Writers Group)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HIGH COURT PRIMACY

Sir, - Daniel Bloch, in his article yesterday "The party's over," seems to have forgotten what country he is writing his op-ed piece in. He writes that the haredim "do not accept... the constitutional primacy of the [High] Court." He also accuses them of lacking "loyalty to the democratic precepts of the Zionist state."

Israel is a parliamentary democracy, based on the British model of

the "sovereignty of Parliament" which gives the legislature primacy, not the court. In the US the Supreme Court has the right to overrule the legislature, but only because the legislature explicitly delegates that right in the Constitution.

What some enthusiasts for the High Court seem to have forgotten is that the "primacy" of the High Court is something it has invented

for itself, not something our legislature delegated.

I am puzzled why proponents of "democracy" cannot grasp that rule by un-elected judges unrestrained by law is the same kind of "democracy" as was found in the titles of "People's Democratic Republics".

DAVID OLESKER
Jerusalem.

REAL JUSTICE

Sir, In last Friday's edition of *The Jerusalem Post*, the one with all the controversy about our "Supreme" Court, I noticed on page 2 the story about the nine-year-old girl sexually abused in school.

It is criminal brutality such as this that our so-called Supreme Court should busy itself with instead of worrying about name-calling and its tarnished honor.

NOT THE SAME

Sir, - In response to Lisa Liel's scathing attack on Naomi Ragen (Letters, February 10), condemning her "venomous attacks on the haredi community," I must confess I see Naomi Ragen in a completely different light. I believe she is a woman of courage whose books tell the truth about the community. I have personally seen that way of life "up close" on many occasions, and I feel her anger is fully justified.

Opposing the haredim is not automatically "bashing." After all, if one wants to raise objections to them, their actions provide a fertile field for material. Liel makes the mistake of assuming that Orthodoxy and ultra-orthodoxy are the same. They are not.

EVE SHORR

Haifa.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On February 15, 1934, *The Palestine Post* reported that the Jewish situation in Austria had deteriorated in the wake of the recent civil war and severe fighting. The government stressed that Austria was a Christian country, banks refused credit to Jews and dismissed

Jewish employees.

50 years ago: On February 15, 1949, *The Palestine Post* reported on the festive opening of the Constituent Assembly. In his historic address, the ailing President Weizmann extended the hand of peace to Israel's neighbors.

arrested and then walk free, should ring in the ears of our judges more than any mass demonstration regarding their honor. Honorable courts are achieved by honorable justice.

It will be one of my sincerest prayers that this little girl should have a *refuah shleimah* and that our "justice" system should finally wake up to this kind of injustice.

RABBI ASHER WADE
Jerusalem.

NO UNIFICATION

Sir, - I was among a few dozen Israelis who paid a condolence visit to the family of Zaki Noor Abeid, who died recently after being shot in the head when he, together with others, protested against the demolition of the house of his uncle and aunt.

From a little walk through the streets of what is called "the Issawiye neighborhood of united Jerusalem," one thing became very clear: After 30 years of "unification," Issawiye has not become part of Israeli's capital, but is just a village under occupation. It was clear from the terrible neglect everywhere, from the condition of the streets and the heaps of

garbage.

These people live in overcrowd-

ed houses because nobody takes care of their needs; meanwhile they have to pay all the municipal taxes. And when they at last take care of themselves, building a house on a small plot, then suddenly the border police and the bulldozers remember that they exist.

Zaki Noor Abeid couldn't stand it any longer and was among the stone throwers. Now, he is buried in the also-overcrowded cemetery. These inhabitants of united Jerusalem do not even get permission to extend their 100-year-old cemetery, and have to put the graves one on top of the other.

BEATE ZILVERSMIDT
Tel Aviv.

25 years ago: On February 15, 1974, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that a conference of Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Algeria demanded a complete Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians.

Alexander Zvielli

50 من الأصل

Sunday, February 14, 1999

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Office Politics

The Presidency Is Still There, Not Quite the Same

By ADAM CLYMER

WASHINGTON
In the end, it was not so much the evidence that saved him, and certainly not his awesome communications skills. It was not even the economy.

It was his office. While almost every member of Congress says that William Jefferson Clinton cheapened his Presidency, a critical mass of Senators chose not to follow his example by casting a vote they believed would diminish the Presidency.

On neither charge, not perjury nor obstruction of justice, did a majority agree with Representative James Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin, who told the Senate: "To keep a President in office whose gross misconduct and criminal actions are a well-established fact will weaken the authority of the Presidency, undermine the rule of law, and cheapen those words which have made America different from most other nations on Earth: Equal Justice Under Law."

Instead, the Senate seemed more taken with the argument of the President's lawyers: "These kinds of wrongs are simply not subjects fit for impeachment. To remove a President on this basis would lower the impeachment bar to an unprecedented level and create a devastating precedent."

The Senate seemed to conclude that their former colleague, Dale Bumpers, had it right when, speaking for the President, he told them: "If you vote to convict, in my opinion, you're going to create more havoc than he could ever possibly create. After all, he's only got two more years left."

Even so, the Presidency is a weaker office today than it was on Jan. 20, 1993, when Mr. Clinton first assumed it. A series of judicial decisions, provoked by the relentlessness of his enemies and by a short-sighted Clinton defense that considered only him, and not the office he held, have undercut the immunity from ordinary legal processes that he and his predecessors assumed they possessed.

The most dramatic change came in May 1997, when the Supreme Court ruled that a sitting President was not immune from a civil lawsuit like Paula Jones's. It held, among other things, that a lawsuit would be "highly unlikely to occupy any substantial amount" of the President's time.

The breathtaking naïveté of that conclusion is only part of the problem, though it is hard to imagine that the next President and successors will not find enemies clever enough to file pleadings, demand discovery and take depositions.

The bigger problem for some future President is that the language of

Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

The new women's clothing balloons debated in the breeze on a terrace of the Russell Senate Office Building Thursday on the eve of President Clinton's acquittal.

Sex on the Witness Stand: Get Used to It

By WILLIAM GLABERSON

I wasn't just about sex. Or was it? Either way, graphic sexual detail was a main focus of the Clinton scandal, and like it or not, that was partly because the legal system has come to permit extensive questioning about once-private matters.

President Clinton was ridiculed for his tortured legalistic explanations of who did what to whom. However unpopular his hair splitting, the case highlighted a reality of modern legal culture: Sexual acts are grounds for

litigious scrutiny far more often — and in far more detail — than most people realize.

As a result, one legacy of the impeachment trial is a re-examination in politics, academia and in communities around the country of how the law in a formerly puritanical country got so sexualized. A debate is beginning over what might be called the law's obsession with sex.

"In the aftermath of this, people can say, 'Let's shut the door on the whole thing; we don't even want to know about any of this,' and have a sweeping libertarian definition of privacy, which would undermine many issues

of fundamental importance to women's equality," said Jane E. Larson, a feminist legal scholar at the University of Wisconsin Law School.

American sexual attitudes have always included swirling contradictions, and so it's not surprising that the impeachment aftermath includes divergent schools of thought about sex and the law. The "enough is enough" school suggests that sex has become a distraction from more important legal matters. And some people who believe that sexual litigation has gone too far cite as evidence the public's widespread revulsion over the sexual

details that were talked about at length by lawyers.

A second school of thought suggests that sexual matters are so central to modern life that the courts cannot avoid getting more deeply involved in such issues. "Get used to it," Professor Larson said.

Any debate about sexual explicitness in the courts is also a veiled debate about legal changes introduced as a result of the women's movement. Starting in the 1970's, for example, prosecutors showed new interest in

Continued on Page 12

Continued on Page 12



Not the Cold War
When China pilfers secrets, here's why.

By Patrick E. Tyler

10

Inhaling Refuse

Mexico City is one of the most dangerous places on earth to take a breath.

By Julia Preston

10



Mix and Match
Don't confuse police sketches with photos.

By John Kifner

11

Targeting the Manufacturers
Several cities have already sued gun makers; others are lining up.

By Laura Mansnerus

11

Better Loving Through Chemistry

Sure, We've Got a Pill for That

By DENISE GRADY

GIVEN the national spectacle set off by a pair of runaway libidos, it might seem an odd moment in history to suggest that what Americans really need is medical help to juice up their sex drives.

But that is precisely what researchers said last week on the basis of a survey showing that 43 percent of women and 31 percent of men suffered from "sexual dysfunction" — a catchall diagnosis applied to troubles like lack of interest in sex, inability to have an orgasm, difficulty with erection or finding sex painful or not pleasurable. Writing in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, the researchers called this sexual malaise "a significant public health concern" and said work was needed to develop "appropriate therapies," especially

for women.

Such therapies might include counseling, hormone treatments, and, if studies now under way indicate it helps, giving the drug Viagra to women as well as men, the researchers said in interviews.

Does this mean that disappointment in the bedroom, once considered part of life's normal ups and downs, should become the next frontier in public health policy, another enemy to be conquered along with heart disease, cancer, AIDS and drug addiction? Do 43 percent of American women and a third of men really need or want professional help between the sheets?

The sex survey might be taken as an example of creeping medicalization: a trend to seize upon aches and pains that people used to live with and declare them dysfunctions that must be treated. Where it was once acceptable to leave certain conditions alone, doing so now might be considered cruel neglect. Medicalization transforms people into patients and creates new markets for specialty clinics, diagnostic

tests, pills, shots, self-help books, diet plans and the ultimate cash cow — regular medical monitoring.

Industries have sprung up to cash in on menopause, prescribe psychiatric drugs for troubled dogs, diagnose the vaguest of back pains, counsel people who want sex too much and now, of course, tune up those who do not want sex enough.

The suggestion that more people need sex doctors was trumpeted nationwide on radio and television and on the front pages of newspapers. But there were problems with the study that produced this conclusion. For one thing, it was based on a new analysis of old data that had already been published in a 1994 book. Moreover,

two of the authors had served as paid consultants to Pfizer, the manufacturer of Viagra, which could see a doubling of its market for the drug if the studies in women were to pan out. The authors' financial connection was not mentioned, due to "an oversight" at the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, according to Dr. Richard Glass, an editor there.

Pfizer did not pay for the sex survey, but the authors' relationship with the company raised questions nonetheless, because drug companies have an obvious

Continued on Page 11

The World

Seeing China's Challenge Through a Cold War Lens

By PATRICK E. TYLER

FOR anyone charting the rise of China, it has been a pretty scary couple of years.

In early 1997, the first reports surfaced that China's Communist Party leaders had set out to funnel money into Democratic political campaigns to buy influence. Then there was a stream of reports that Chinese rocket scientists had taken advantage of their American partners in the space-launch business to improve the accuracy of China's strategic nuclear arsenal.

Most recently, a bipartisan Congressional panel concluded in a 700-page classified report that Chinese agents had pilfered an array of sensitive American military technology over the last two decades, including, perhaps, the design secret of one of America's most sophisticated thermonuclear warheads, the W-33, which sits atop the Trident II missiles in American submarines.

It all seems to add up to an alarming picture of military modernization, coinciding with steadily expanding defense budgets to finance the purchase of new Russian warplanes, submarines and destroyers.

Is the China threat coming true?

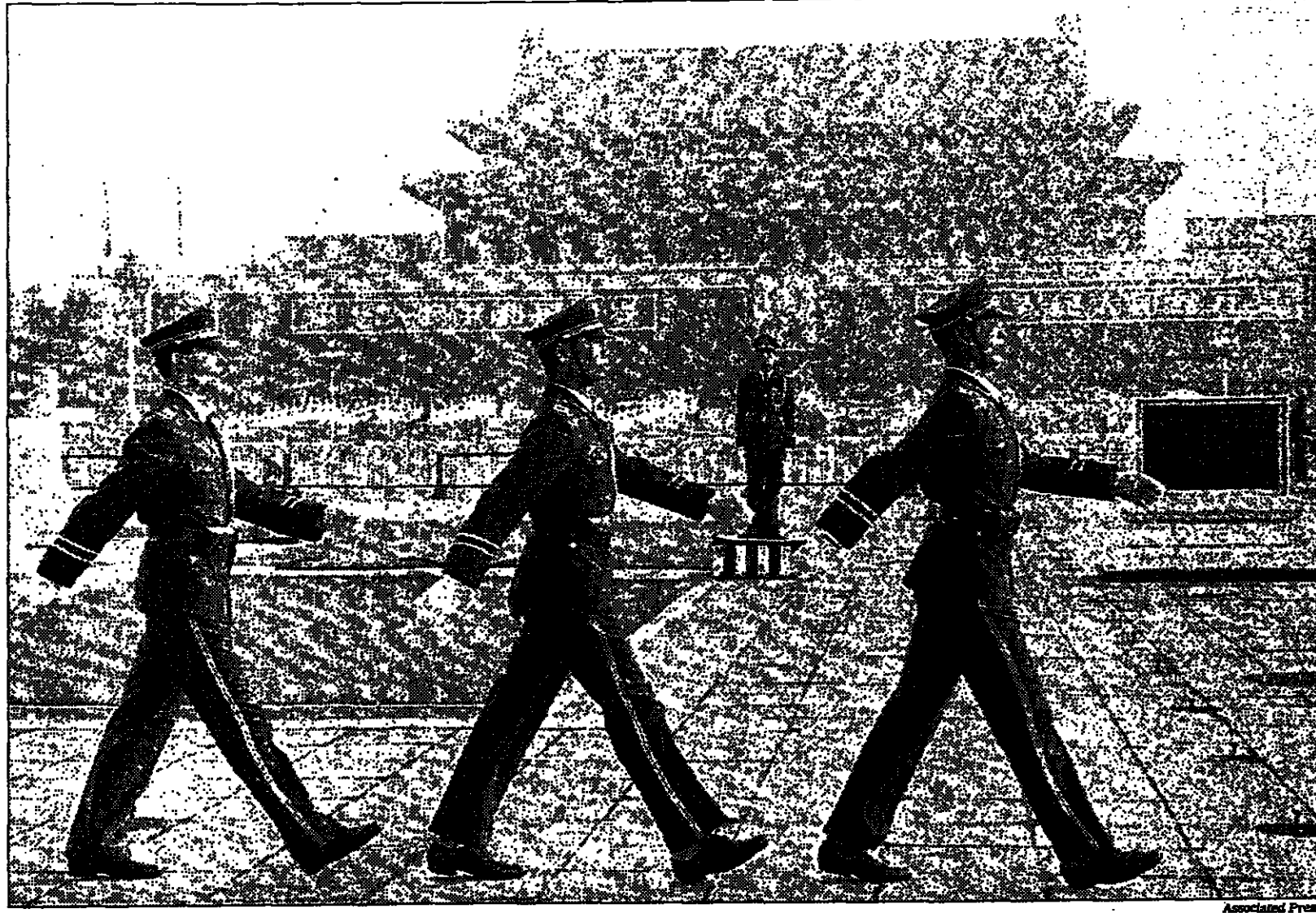
The question betrays America's cold war legacy. China certainly intends to establish itself as a credible military power, one that can defend its national interests near its shores, whether that means fighting for its share of the oil resources of the South China Sea or asserting its sovereignty over Taiwan — still separated from the mainland since Chiang Kai-Shek fled there with his army in 1949. But there is no evidence that China is seeking to compete with the United States as a global military power as the Soviet Union once did.

Some experts now argue that with the collapse of the Soviet Union, China is turning into America's foremost rival, arming itself for the day when it can kick the United States out of Asia and then lord it over Japan, Taiwan and the Southeast Asian nations.

These experts cite as evidence of China's hostility its missile tests and war games near Taiwan in 1995 and 1996; in response, American aircraft carriers were dispatched to deliver a pointed message to Beijing that military coercion would not be tolerated.

But others say America should relax about China and resist the cold war reflex, with every Chinese advance, to grab a shovel to dig that bomb shelter in the backyard.

James R. Schlesinger, onetime dean of the cold warriors as Secretary of Defense in the 1970's, says: "China is not going to be a world



Soldiers in Tiananmen Square. China's military is trying to modernize; the question is whether that's cause for alarm.

power in the existing period, and possibly never. They recognize it, and the last thing they want is to tangle with the United States."

Robert L. Suettinger, until recently the Central Intelligence Agency's senior analyst for Asia and now a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, agrees. The intelligence community consensus on China "doesn't add up to a threat," he says.

STILL, with the passing of the cold war, during which China and the United States had common interest in opposing Soviet adventurism in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, there is little today that anchors the American relationship with China. Hence President Clinton's difficulty in sustaining a policy of engagement in the face of each new report of dissident arrests, technological espionage and the mis-

sile buildup against Taiwan.

Whatever challenge China might pose in the future, it won't be anything like the danger once posed by Soviet divisions poised against Europe, by Soviet armadas in every ocean and thousands of Soviet nuclear warheads aimed at America.

While Moscow built a wall around its irrational economy, China has been busy building export markets, opening its economy and expanding personal freedom at home (up to a point). Having witnessed Japan's success, China's leaders believe that in the next century, national power will be measured by economic strength, not military.

Therefore, China is joining world institutions, not threatening them. Chinese exports are the engine of China's growth. They have given Beijing the same stake in peace and stability that every other nation has

in the era of globalization.

Mr. Schlesinger says the danger of overindulging America's worst fears about China is that it might actually produce the hostile opponent that some Americans foresee. Get over it, he says.

TO experts like him, China's gradual military modernization is an inescapable outgrowth of national development. In this view, the disturbing record of Chinese espionage in the United States proves only that Beijing has been pursuing its own interests much as Taiwan, Egypt, Israel, Russia, France and Brazil all have, at the United States' expense.

Even that reality may not be so alarming. The roots of the Chinese espionage go back to the late 1970's, when China's leader, Deng Xiaoping, pressed American officials for tech-

nology to help China modernize. It is now known that he also hedged his bets by ordering China's spy agency to go after critical technologies through the back door. Much of the effort, however, was bungled or detected by American intelligence.

And anyway, for all of China's illicit acquisitions, the Chinese military stubbornly refuses to improve.

John Culver, the C.I.A.'s military expert on China, told a National Defense University forum last year that China's army "is still largely the same force it was at the time the U.S.S.R. collapsed," and that "it is still overwhelmingly a ground army with an inventory of weapons that, in most cases, has been deployed with the same units for up to 30 years."

Even with new Russian jet fighters, submarines, destroyers and a whole array of new missiles, Mr. Culver argued, the Chinese army has

created only a few "pockets of modernity" and has failed to alter the military balance with Taiwan.

On average, Chinese pilots fly far fewer training hours than those in any modern air force. The Chinese navy and air force are facing obsolescence of their Soviet-era warplanes and warships.

Two Stanford University researchers, John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, report in a new study that by 1990, half of the aircraft in the Chinese air force were not operational. Even with new Russian purchases, Chinese air power hardly exists.

Yet the risk of confrontation remains. Since 1960, China has fought border wars with India, the Soviet Union and Vietnam. The borders with those countries are now quiet, but Taiwan looms as an unresolved conflict where both sides see sovereign interests at stake.

If Taiwan declared its independence tomorrow, or if Beijing issued an ultimatum for Taiwan's reunification with the mainland, a new crisis could erupt.

The debate over China is only going to get louder as the 2000 Presidential election season approaches. Both Republican and Democratic strategists see China policy as a rallying point for voters concerned about human rights, religious freedom and the proliferation of Chinese nuclear and missile technologies to unstable regions.

A huge factor is China itself, where repression remains a dominant feature of the security apparatus, and where some military leaders wear their chauvinism like a battle ribbon.

Since Woodrow Wilson's time, Americans have insisted that their foreign policy reflect moral values, and China continues to rub America the wrong way. Ten years after the Tiananmen massacres, polls show that Americans, by a roughly two-thirds majority, are still inclined to think the worst of China.

Mr. Schlesinger is among those who are inclined the other way, which may seem strange for an old cold warrior. China, he says, should not become America's "designated enemy." The Chinese still look to America to help them overcome the daunting challenges of rebuilding backward industries, managing scarce resources, alleviating poverty and environmental degradation.

"It would be self-defeating as well as a negation of the magnanimity of the United States," he says, "to presuppose that China must turn into a hostile nation."

China could still turn hostile, says Mr. Schlesinger. But if it does, he adds, it would be best if America were not the cause.

Mexico City's Air

A Fatal Case of Fatalism

By JULIA PRESTON

THI winter the residents of Mexico City, who are long accustomed to breathing toxic concentrations of ozone, are also breathing poisonous amounts of something else: tiny airborne particles of bus exhaust, industrial smoke, garbage and what the authorities refer to, with scientific detachment, as fecal matter.

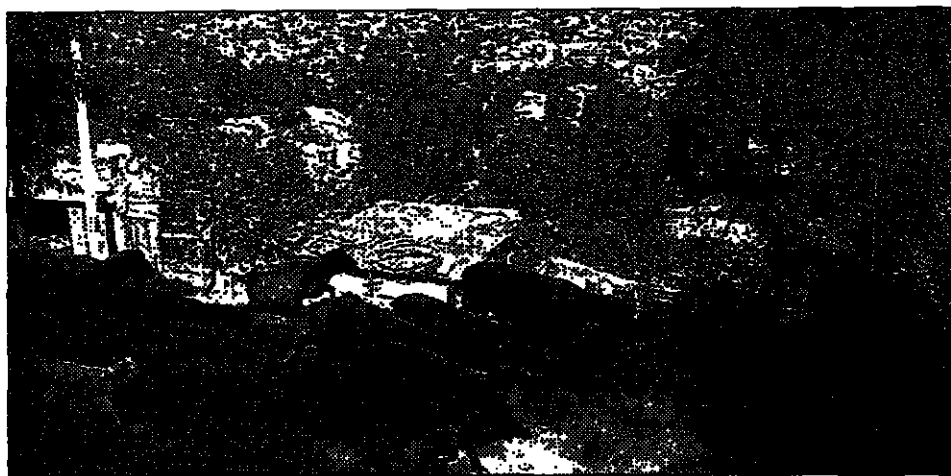
Since December the city government has twice declared pollution emergencies in which, for the first time, the chief cause was not ozone but dismal clouds of particles. Schoolchildren were required to stay indoors and vehicles with dirty engines were barred from the streets. Health Ministry surveys showed that within a week after the highest particle levels were registered, fully half of the metropolis's 18 million residents became sick with some respiratory ailment.

Yet the inhabitants have endured the new indignity of inhaling refuse and excrement with the same calm they show when choking on car fumes. Once again, the only protests have come from drivers whose vehicles were immobilized during the emergency.

It has been two decades since Mexico City first recognized its critical pollution problem. Successive governments have taken some measures to confront it, from improving gasoline quality to restricting the movements of polluting vehicles. But public buses, open dumps, unsupervised industries and aging cars continue to cough out contaminants. The Mexican capital remains one of the most dangerous places on the planet to take a breath.

Environmentalists say Mexican officials are to blame for being slow to react. But an important part of the inertia comes from the citizens who live with the bad air. For decades they suffered under governments that were venal and ineffective and that often failed to respond to demands for the most basic services, like water and sewage. Until 1997, city politics was dominated by an overbearing one-party system that discouraged independent grass-roots organizing.

Now many city residents are sunk in a cycle of self-fulfilling powerlessness. They don't believe they can bring about a change in a problem as stubborn and pervasive as smog, so they don't try. As a result, there has never been any groundswell of popular



On the fringes of Mexico City, livestock like these sheep add to pollution problems.

outrage to push decision-makers to make the ambitious changes needed to achieve drastic reductions in pollution.

The syndrome is illustrated by Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl, a city of two million working-class Mexicans in the northeast corner of the metropolitan area. One of its borders is a vast, rank-smelling desert of dust and garbage. In the days of the Aztecs, the plain was the bed of Lake Texcoco. But the water was drained away during the voracious development of Mexico City in the 20th century.

Now the parched lake bed is an open-air dump cluttered with mountains of burning tires, construction rubble, factory waste and rotting trash. An open sewer canal running with viscous black water winds through the dump into the city. Poor water pressure and drainage leave hundreds of thousands of Nezahualcóyotl residents without running water in their homes. The dump and canal often substitute for indoor plumbing.

Countless animals relieve themselves there as well. In the dry winter months the prevailing southerly winds swirl over the lake bed, lifting its foul dust and spreading it over the rest of Mexico City.

The people who live near the dump know well how the dust can damage health — and what it would take to get it cleaned up.

"We just breathe pollution, so we never get well," said Ivonne Vega, 23 years old, as she pressed a tissue to her nose. Alongside

her toddled her sniffing 18-month-old son; he was just recovering, she said, from one of his almost-constant throat infections.

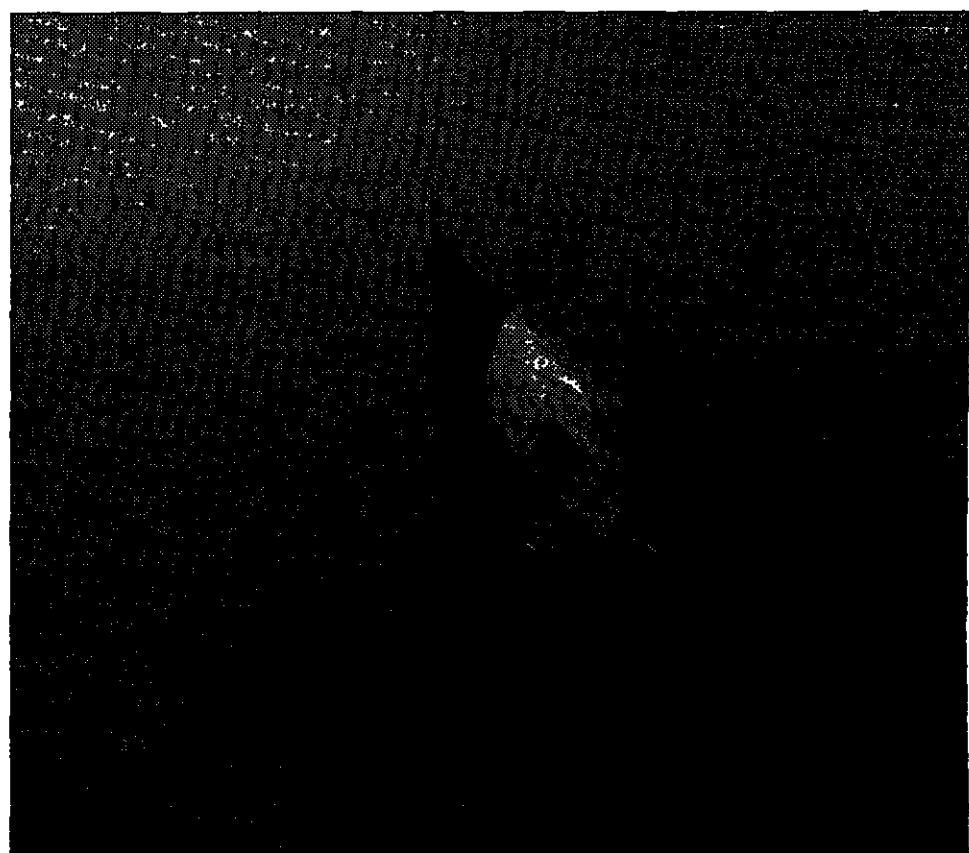
Franceli Vela Urióstegui, 37, went at mid-morning to a public primary school a block from the dump to pick up her 8-year-old niece, who had suddenly developed flu-like symptoms and a red chest rash. "I think we're just dying slowly," Mrs. Urióstegui said mournfully.

BUT Nezahualcóyotl residents respond to the threat with a consistent refrain, typified by Alejandra Pérez, 18, who drives a horse-drawn garbage collection cart. "Of course it bothers us," he said. "But we don't do anything about it. No one in power would pay any attention to us if we did."

Residents have many needs they consider much more pressing than the city government has failed to meet. After 30 years in her house, for example, Isabel Bustamante still has no running water.

As for pollution, Jose Luis Lezama, a sociologist who studies the politics behind the issue, says: "The citizens and the Government share in a will to minimize the problem. Since the possibilities for change are so slight, the best solution is to ignore it. Mexicans have other priorities. They see pollution as a luxury problem."

Mexico City does have a sophisticated system for monitoring smog, and over the



Mexico's flag was hard to see on a day last March when the pollution level was critical.

last decade a clear decrease in ozone has been achieved, even though levels remain far above international standards.

But Alejandro Encinas, the city's Environment Secretary, said he receives nothing but complaints from drivers who have been forced to clean up their engines or whose dirty cars have been halted on high-pollution days. "People in this city would rather drive than breathe," Mr. Encinas said.

In other words, to get better air Mexicans will have to start changing some of their own ways. But they are reluctant, because they believe they can only lose. Among the worst sources of ozone and particles, for example, are the thousands of driver-owned minibuses that are the only public transportation in many poor neighborhoods. Mr. Encinas, an energetic idealist who is full of novel anti-pollution plans, wants residents to give them up and go back to using the metro, which is far less convenient. There is, predictably, little public backing for this. So far now, Mr. Encinas said, he will try to persuade the minibus drivers to convert to natural gas, a cleaner fuel.

The most vulnerable victims of the sullied air are the city's youth. A study that the

World Health Organization is conducting looked at the combined effects of three leading contaminants in most of the world's large, heavily-polluted cities and found that Mexico City's unique cocktail is the most noxious for children — the equivalent of smoking two packs of cigarettes a day.

"Mexico City has the most children facing the greatest risk," said Devra Davis, an epidemiologist at the World Resources Institute in Washington who led the study.

UNLIKE their parents, the children do not believe they are doomed to live with aching lungs, researchers say. Last year the Health Ministry held a contest in city primary schools asking for solutions to the smog. The students came up with all kinds of ideas for improving their own performance, from adopting trees to cleaning up after their pets. The reward for the winners was a little help from the Ministry in helping them put their proposals into effect.

But those are Mexico City's children. There is no sign that their optimism has helped to dispel the haze of fatalism that engulfs their parents.

The Nation

Moving Target: Gun Makers

By LAURA MANSNERUS

MAYOR SHARPE JAMES of Newark promises that as soon as the health-care and law-enforcement costs are toted up, the city will go to court against the gun industry. "Our legal theory is that if firearms are creating a social debt in our community — health and medical costs, all kinds of misery — then the people who put out these instruments should be held accountable," Mr. James said last week.

How this rates as a legal argument is a slippery question, which was only confounded last week when a Federal District Court jury in Brooklyn found several gun manufacturers liable for negligence in their marketing practices. But whatever answers emerge — in the appeal of this decision and from other courts presented with similar suits — they may not be all that useful.

Several cities have already sued gun makers, many others are lining up and the Brooklyn decision insures that private plaintiffs will, too. The cases have more to do with politics than with law, as people on both sides of the issue point out, and you don't need a verdict to get results.

"The strategy is to emulate what took place in the tobacco wars," said Lester Brickman, a professor at the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law in New York City. "What the plaintiffs' lawyers relied on was their political ability to bring in enough states to reach a threat level that would cause the tobacco companies to cave in."

"If they can get 20 suits going on, they could raise the cost to the gun manufacturers to \$1 million a day." Legal costs like this can force concessions, effectively short-circuiting the judicial process. But the bigger issue, Professor Brickman said, is using the courts to short-circuit the legislature. (Legislatures sometimes fight back, as the Georgia Legislature did in passing legislation barring the city of Atlanta's suit against gun manufacturers.)

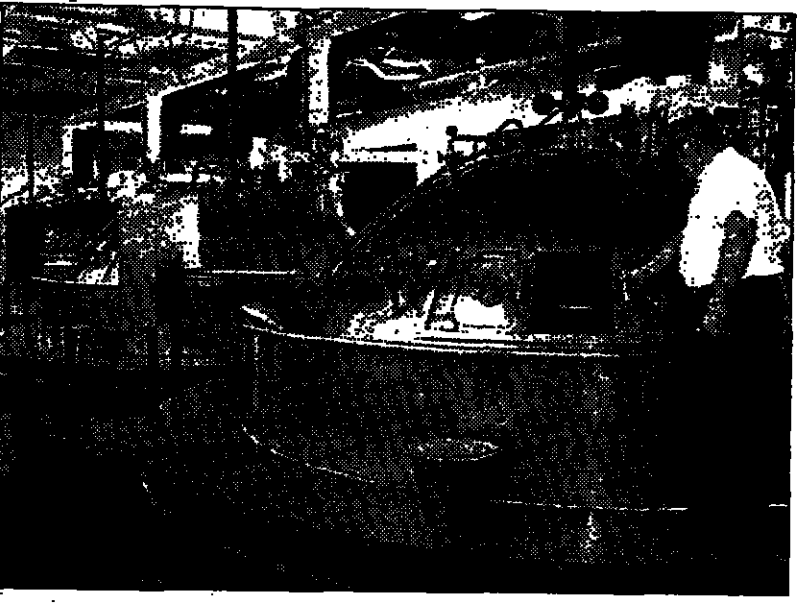
"It's a wild way to make public policy," said Jeffrey O'Connell, a law professor at the University of Virginia. But he also recalled Tocqueville's observation that, sooner or later, every social question in America becomes a legal question.

In this century, personal injury law has banished Pintos, bankrupted asbestos makers and altered the technology of vaccines and contraception, among other things. The \$206 billion tobacco settlement resulted in a price increase for cigarettes — 45 to 60 cents a pack at the counter — that most legislatures had found politically out of reach.

The hostilities with gun makers were opened by the city of New Orleans, which filed suit in October,



First, states sued tobacco companies; now cities are suing gun makers.



Alcohol makers may not be immune from personal injury lawsuits.

followed by Chicago, Miami, Atlanta and Bridgeport, Conn. Like the states that sued tobacco companies, the cities seek to recover expenses, which in these cases extend to law enforcement and hospital costs, and pension benefits and more remote costs. The complaint filed by Miami-Dade County, for example, contends that "the county has lost substantial tax revenues due to lost productivity and tourism as well as reduced property values."

AS for the argument that gun manufacturers should be held responsible for the use of their products, "there is absolutely no limitation on this theory," said Ralph F. Boyd Jr., a Boston lawyer who has advised the tobacco and gun industries. "The auto industry makes vehicles that exceed by two the lawful speed limit in any jurisdiction," Mr. Boyd said. "What would stop someone from using this type of legal theory from saying, 'Hey, you know those commercials that show cars speeding across the countryside, making tight turns on mountains, zipping around pylons on race courses? Why isn't that negligent marketing? Why isn't the auto industry responsible for all the accidents resulting from excessive speed?'"

Plaintiffs' lawyers and public officials respond that they choose defendants based on the harm they do. Several years ago, when a Mississippi official wondered sarcastically if

the state's suit against tobacco makers would be followed by one against pizza parlors, the Attorney General replied, "When pepperoni kills 425,000 people a year, we'll go after the pepperoni business."

KRISTEN RAND, a lawyer with the Violence Policy Center, an advocacy organization in Washington, said the Brooklyn decision logically applied to any industry's marketing and distribution practices. The jury found that some of the manufacturers had knowingly oversaturated markets in states with lenient gun laws, leading to illicit sales in the New York area. The suit was brought by relatives of shooting victims.

"Let's say pharmaceutical companies were found to be selling to people outside the legitimate stream of commerce, to people on street corners," Ms. Rand said. "People would say, of course, they should be held liable for that."

Most of the cities' suits contend that the manufacturers failed to incorporate the best safety technology. Some, like the Brooklyn plaintiffs, also argue that the manufacturers are obligated to take steps to keep guns away from unauthorized users.

Ms. Rand said the cities were in an even better position than private plaintiffs.

Mr. James can hardly wait to make that argument. "In my state-of-the-city address," he said, "this got a 10-minute ovation."

We've Got a Pill for That

Continued from Page 9

interest in research that suggests expanded uses for their products.

"We must stop ignoring female sexual dysfunction," said Dr. Raymond Rosen, co-director of the Center for Sexual and Marital Health at the Robert Wood Johnson Medical School in New Brunswick, N.J., and one of the Pfizer consultants who wrote the article. "That's what I'm hoping will come out of this survey, accelerated research on female sexual dysfunction."

Dr. Rosen said Viagra was "being very actively studied" in women, on the theory that it might stimulate sexual response in them as it does in men, by increasing blood flow to the genitals. He said the male hormone testosterone was also being tested as a means of enhancing sex drive in women past menopause, along with estrogen, which can strengthen vaginal tissue and improve lubrication.

Before such treatments were proposed, when sexual desire waned and waned, people were more willing to chalk it up to the passage of years or the good times and bad that characterize most lives. But drugs like Viagra and hormones that can affect sex drive have created a powerful incentive for both drug companies and doctors to find new customers. One way to do that is to label the lack of desire an abnormal condition in which people who are not in the mood often enough are expected to do something about it.

The trend has advantages in providing relief for conditions that people used to suffer from. Viagra, for instance, has been a boon to some impotent men and their partners. But researchers point out that providing more and more medical care for more and more ailments, particularly conditions that do not directly threaten health, can have a downside as well. In addition to costing a lot, extra treatment exposes people to extra risks. Another paper published recently in the same journal as the sex survey posed several instances in which efforts to step up treatments actually led to harm.

In one case, pregnant women at risk for giving birth to premature babies were monitored at home for signs of early labor. The monitoring led to the use of more drugs

to hold off labor, which had adverse effects like lung problems and high blood sugar in 7 percent of the women but did not lower the rate of early births.

In another case, people who had had heart attacks were given drugs to treat slight abnormalities in heart rhythm, some so mild they did not even cause symptoms. But compared to people with similar histories who were not treated, those who took the drugs had death rates two to three times higher.

People who contemplate drug therapy to resuscitate their sex lives may also risk unwanted side effects: Viagra, for instance, can cause headaches and nausea and temporarily add a bluish tinge to one's vision.

DRUGS may not always be the solution to sexual woes, anyway. Despite Dr. Rosen's enthusiasm for them, the study itself acknowledged that some of the most common sexual problems had social and emotional roots that no pill could fix. Young women, for instance, tended to have more pain from sex and less satisfaction than older women, probably because they changed partners more often. They tended also to alternate between intervals of no sex and episodes of frequent activity, a pattern that may contribute to higher rates of bladder infection — a condition all but guaranteed to take the joy out of sex.

John Gagnon, an emeritus professor of sociology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, said it was little wonder that young women felt disappointed by sex, given the ineptitude of many young men. "I sometimes wonder why young women put up with it, except that they probably don't know any better," he said.

Some women in their 60's lose interest in sex, he said. "They say, 'I had my kids, and that's why I did it, and I never really got much else out of it,'" he said. They consider the sexual phase of their lives finished, they do not miss it, and idea of taking a drug to create a yearning for it may not appeal to them.

Contrary to what seems to be the prevailing belief, Mr. Gagnon said, people are not necessarily unhealthy or in need of medical treatment if they do not feel like having sex all the time.

"Many people find their hobbies more interesting," he said. "Sex is a modest pleasure."

Who's Who?

Matching Sketch to Suspect

Police sketches of six suspects drawn from eyewitness accounts compared with photographs of the men who were later arrested and convicted. In none of the six instances did the sketch play a role in the capture of the suspects. A seventh sketch is of the suspect whom New York City police officers were looking for last week when they mistakenly killed Amadou Diallo, a 22-year-old immigrant from Guinea. The sketches and photographs, which are placed at random, are matched on page 4.

By JOHN KIFNER

THE police sketches of wanted suspects frequently bear a striking resemblance to someone with two eyes, two ears, a nose and a mouth. Sometimes they look like just about everybody.

The four police officers from New York City's elite Street Crime Unit who fired the barrage of 41 shots that killed an unarmed West African immigrant earlier this month were carrying such a sketch, a rendering of a rapist who had been terrorizing a Bronx neighborhood and for whom they were searching.

The 22-year-old victim, Amadou Diallo, was shot in the doorway of his apartment in the Soundview section of the Bronx at 12:45 A.M. on Feb. 4. A lawyer for the officers said they mistakenly thought Mr. Diallo had a gun. He did not have a gun; nor did he have a criminal record.

While much of the controversy that swirled around the shooting concerned the aggressive tactics of the police unit — which prowls the darkened city streets in unmarked cars and rough clothes, hoping to pounce on criminals — the incident also raised questions about just how useful police sketches really are.

Nowadays, sketches are often made with sophisticated computer software that gives options for various facial features, and some have proved to be enormously helpful in identifying suspects. But the sketches or computer-generated photographs are still only as good as a victim's recollection.

"The difficulty with a sketch is that it's based on eyewitness information which can be fallible and imprecise," said James Alan Fox, dean of Northeastern University's College of Criminal Justice. "Because it's based on eyewitness recall, it's subject to error."

Victims are usually "fearful and stressed," Mr. Fox added, which can affect the descriptions they give to police sketch artists. "It is a rendering of what

It can be helpful to show drawings around, but they're only as good as a victim's recollection.

people remember, and these recollections are often flawed."

Vernon Geberth, a retired New York City homicide detective who is the author of the definitive textbook in the field, "Practical Homicide Investigation" (CRC Press, 1996), was similarly cautious about the use of the composite sketches.

"If I had to go out there with some of the sketches I've seen, I'd be laughing," he said, recalling his own investigative experience in the Bronx. "Some of them look like not everybody, but nobody."

And when they look like almost everybody, there is a danger that police officers can go after the wrong person, as apparently happened in the case of Mr. Diallo. That problem can be compounded by differences in race between suspects, victims and police officers.

Veteran detectives said the best use of the sketches was not in trying to match someone on the street with a drawing, but in showing it while canvassing a neighborhood for leads.

The hope is that someone acquainted with the suspect will recognize some feature of the drawing — a distinctive jaw line, perhaps, or a mustache — and provide some detail — a name, a regular hangout — that could enable detectives to take their investigation further.

"It's a tool, like anything else," said Mr. Geberth, who also stressed the difficulty with eyewitness accounts, pointing out that forensic evidence was much more important in tying a suspect to a crime.

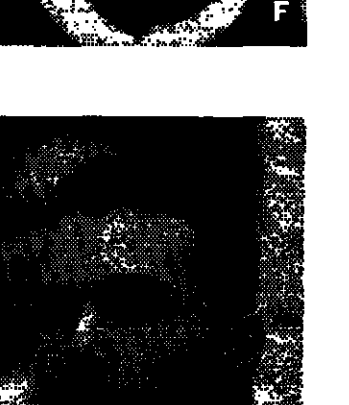
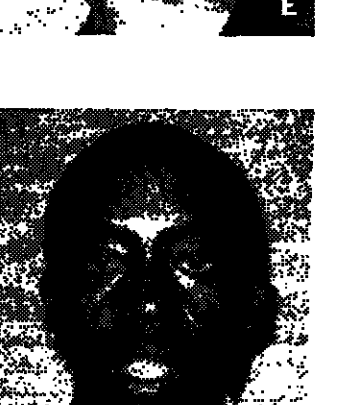
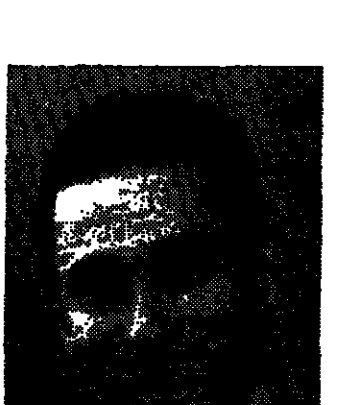
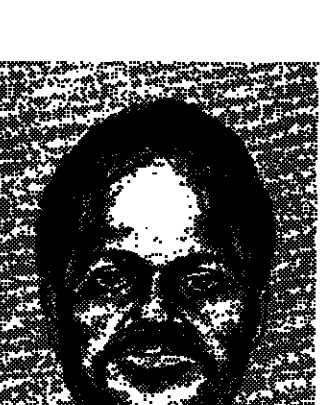
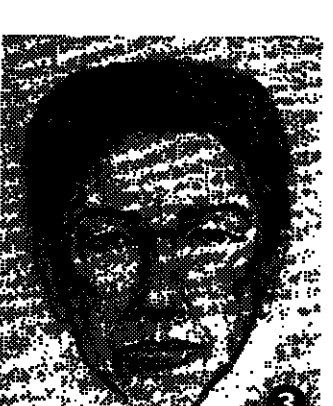
Mr. Fox said that while the sketches could be a useful tool, "they can be counterproductive if people feel it's more reliable than it is."

"They might fit lots of people who are innocent," he added. "Or they may be wrong, and the real perpetrator might not look like that at all."

"You can use a composite sketch to go around a neighborhood where someone may have operated or committed a crime and see if some one recognizes him. It can provide a lead. But it takes much more than that, some form of corroboration to turn someone into a suspect."

As to the sketch the officers in the Bronx were carrying, Inspector Michael Collins, a police spokesman, said: "I don't know that it looks like everybody. It might look like lots of people."

By the weekend, the suspected rapist whom the police were seeking when they encountered Mr. Diallo 10 days ago had not been caught.



The Nation

Making Tons of Money and Fords, Too

By KEITH BRADSHAW

TWO weeks ago, the Ford Motor Company agreed to pay \$6.5 billion for the car operations of Volvo of Sweden. Last week, Ford hinted that it might also be interested in buying Germany's BMW — and with more than \$17 billion in cash remaining in the company kitty, Ford can easily afford it.

How did Ford, which is known for its plebeian, low-profit Escorts and Tauruses, accumulate wealth on a scale not seen since Japanese companies were buying up American real estate in the 1980's? A big part of the answer lies in this gritty industrial suburb west of Detroit, home to what appears to be the world's most profitable factory in any industry.

The Michigan Truck Plant here used to make full-sized Ford pickup trucks, a good business. Now it manufactures the Ford Expedition and Lincoln Navigator, both full-sized sport utility vehicles — a great business. With factory profits approaching those of the entire Chrysler Corporation in all of 1997, this plant is earning enough money every 34 months to pay for the entire Volvo deal, which included four assembly plants, two engine factories and an engineering center, as well as Volvo's world-famous brand name.

The \$36,000 Expedition and \$45,000 Navigator are essentially Ford pickups under the sheet metal but with much longer cabs and three rows of seats. They cost only a few thousand dollars more to make than the pickups, yet sell for an extra \$10,000 to \$20,000. Financial analysts estimate that Ford, which has already recovered all of its modest costs for developing the vehicles, now earns a profit of about \$12,000 on each Expedition and \$15,000 on each Navigator.

With that kind of money at stake, the work here never stops. Three crews of workers put in 10-hour shifts around the clock. Six days a week, the bright yellow conveyor belt clanks through the building, carrying the gray shells of sport utility vehicles past rows of 10-foot-tall white robot welders and dozens of crews. The equipment repairs, maintenance and adjustments that take all night and much of the weekend at many auto factories are done in two-hour bursts of feverish activity between shifts and on Sundays.

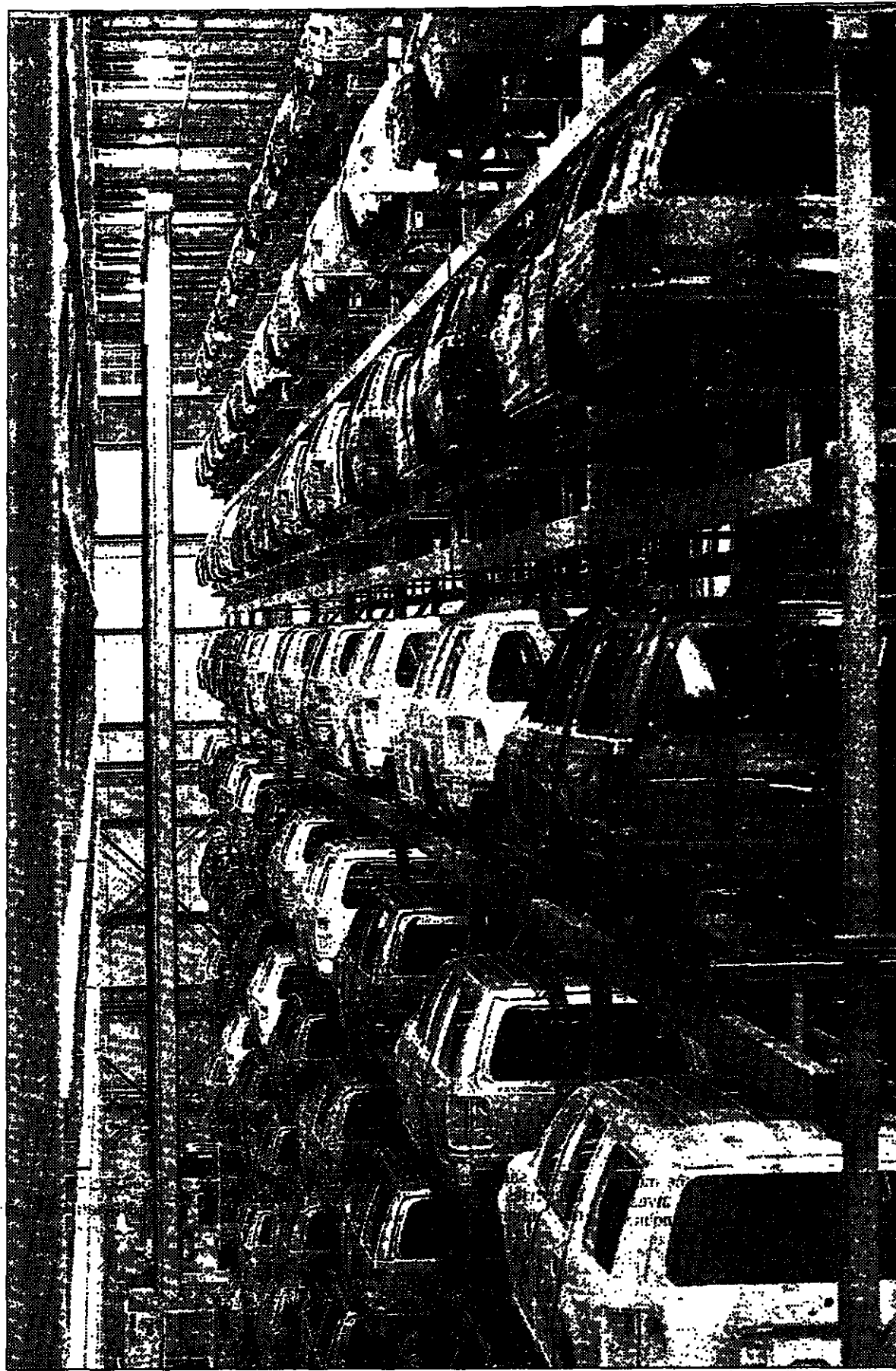
When a blizzard clogged southeastern Michigan roads last month and stranded 5,000 people at Detroit's airport, Ford diverted shipments of scarce engines and axles from other factories to make sure the assembly line here stayed on schedule. The highly motivated workers, who earn up to \$100,000 a year including overtime, showed up in full strength at the factory even when state police officials were urging anyone who did not have a medical emergency to stay home. The factory did not lose an hour of production to the snowstorm, said Michael McCamey, the plant manager.

ALL this activity cranks out an incredible number of vehicles — about 245,000 Expeditions and 48,000 Navigators a year or approximately 1,040 sport utilities a day. That works out to about \$3.7 billion in pretax profits, and about \$2.4 billion in after-tax profits, on annual sales of almost \$11 billion.

While Ford has 53 assembly plants worldwide, the one here accounted for a third of the company's total profits last year. By comparison, there were only 54 companies in the world that earned more than this factory in all of 1997, the most recent year available, according to the annual Fortune global 500. Many of them, like State Farm Insurance and Wal-Mart, do not have factories. The rest, like Intel and the General Electric Company, earn more modest profits from each of many different factories and other businesses.

Not surprisingly, Ford's stock has soared. It has produced a total return on investment of 215 percent since the Expedition was introduced in October 1996, compared with an 85 percent return for the Standard & Poor's index of 500 large stocks. Ford's stock has also climbed because it has cut costs by improving productivity, part of a national trend in corporate America over the last few years.

Full-sized sport utility vehicles are highly profitable because demand for the gas guzzlers far outstrips supply at a time when gasoline prices are the lowest ever, adjusting for inflation. When gas prices fell in the mid-1980's, Ford also earned large profits from a car factory near here that made full-sized Lincoln cars. But tight fuel-economy regulations prevent auto makers from making cars bigger now; instead they build large



At Ford's Michigan Truck Plant, sport utility vehicle bodies are stored and retrieved automatically.

light trucks, which are subject to less stringent rules.

Foreign competition is also negligible in the full-sized sport utility vehicle market, a fact that helps to keep prices high. Since 1964 the United States has imposed a 25 percent tax on imported pickup trucks; until the Bush Administration, this tax also applied to imported sport utility vehicles. Europe and East Asia have prohibitively high gasoline prices and tiny parking spaces, so there is little demand overseas for gargantuan sport utility vehicles.

Only in the last several years have foreign auto makers begun designing huge light trucks just for the American market. Honda and Nissan are working on new models while Toyota, which already sells small

numbers of Land Cruisers and Lexus LX470's, has just built a factory in Indiana that will manufacture full-sized pickup trucks this year and begin making a new, full-sized sport utility vehicle version next year.

Ford's immensely profitable plant may not go unrivaled for long — Ford plans to start selling a bigger sport utility vehicle next fall. The vehicle, which will probably be called the Excursion, will be built in Louisville, Ky., as a variation of an industrial-size pickup already in production there. Two feet longer than an Expedition or Navigator and nearly a foot longer than a Chevrolet Suburban, the Excursion will be the world's largest family vehicle and also one of the most profitable.

Not the Same Presidency

Continued from Page 9

the opinion suggested, in the opinion of Professor Ronald D. Rotunda of the University of Illinois Law School, "that the Constitution provides no bar to the indictment, trial and conviction of a sitting President for a Federal crime." Mr. Rotunda is an adviser to Kenneth W. Starr, the Independent Counsel, and his opinion has apparently convinced Mr. Starr of the constitutionality of indicting Mr. Clinton any time at all, though it may not have convinced him it would be the wise thing to do.

That case went to the Supreme Court because the President would not include an apology as part of a settlement. That same sort of doggedness, sometimes by Mr. Clinton and sometimes by Mr. Starr, provoked other court rulings that may make the lives of future Presidents riskier and their connections to their advisers less frank.

Mr. Starr, seeking evidence that Mr. Clinton was alone with Monica S. Lewinsky or perhaps even observed in flagrante with her, subpoenaed Secret Service agents despite intense arguments from the service that making its agents potential witnesses would make Presidents less willing to keep them close. Congress may someday legislate a protective privilege and undo the court decision upholding Mr. Starr, but was the information he sought worth the risk?

Similarly Mr. Clinton, by interposing a string of losing objections to testimony by his aides, forced a clarification of the law of executive privilege that has to make it harder for future Presidents to keep secrets from Congress — the body against which that privilege is typically cited. This points toward what Douglas Brinkley, a Carter biographer at the University of New Orleans, calls the potential "glass house effect" — treating the President as not a human being, where everything they think or dream or mutter is fair game.

BEYOND those hard legal facts, there are no certainties about how this case will affect the office Mr. Clinton holds. Charles O. Jones, a retired political scientist from the University of Wisconsin, said that is so because it is difficult to separate Mr. Clinton personally from the office he holds. "If that had been easy to do," Mr. Jones said, "he might well have been gone."

But, Mr. Jones said, "if what has gone on is more about Clinton than the Presidency, then the long-term effects may not be great." Others, like Arthur Schlesinger Jr., a historian retired from the City University of New York, feel that a cheapened impeachment, even without a conviction, will leave a wounded, weakened Presidency behind.

Because politics in Washington is not a zero-sum game, a weakened Presidency is possible without some other institution seizing its power. Certainly Congress, which used the weakness of Nixon facing impeachment and then Nixon's resignation to gain strength, has neither the prestige nor the agenda to do anything similar today.

But there are also ways in which the Presidency could become stronger. First, the Independent Counsel law is all but certain to lapse this year. Mr. Starr is only one poster boy for the concept of a prosecutor with an unlimited budget and a single target; the counsels who hounded Mike Espy and Henry Cisneros will help make the case against renewal.

Another major uncertainty, one whose impact on future Presidents is incalculable, is what lessons both parties draw from this episode of the politics of intense personal attack.

Nelson Polsky, a political scientist at the University of California at Berkeley, notes that a series of ABC News Polls show an astonishing share of voters, about 1 in 10, are prepared to punish Representatives and Senators for pro-impeachment votes.

He sees that as a harbinger of a stunning Republican defeat in 2000 (when only a modest defeat would cost the party the House). He suggests that result could cause the Republicans to abandon the "bad habits" of destructive campaigning that they have used in the House for a decade.

Alan Brinkley, a Columbia historian (and no relation to Douglas), has no such optimism. "The scorched earth destruction of opponents has become the norm of our political life," he said, and the Supreme Court in the Jones decision "mapped out a strategy for the enemies of any President to get after him." Rather, he fears that the Democrats will now make destruction the "norm" of their tactics to get even with the Republicans.

In the lawyers' arguments, and in the Senators' speeches, there was a sense of foreboding over the impeachment verdict, about how the wrong result would threaten the nation's central institution, the Presidency. It often seemed that arguments that perjury would damage Americans' faith in their leaders and their rule of law reflected a very short memory; Presidential lies about Vietnam, not under oath to be sure, had a lot more impact on the lives and deaths of Americans than anything Mr. Clinton may have said about sex and how to conceal it. Even so, now the test will be whether the accusers were right that alleged perjury gone unpunished will shake the Republic.

As to the Presidency, it survived Harding and Hoover, even Buchanan and Nixon. Fred Greenstein, a Presidential scholar at Princeton, observed, "The institutions of American government are much more resilient and elastic than we usually realize."

Sex on the Stand: Get Used to It

Continued from Page 9

acquaintance-rape cases and other sexual crimes more subtle than violent rapes by strangers. New civil claims like sexual harassment were born that required lawyers to delve into details.

The enough-is-enough argument, some say, is little more than repackaged gender politics. "I don't think this theme of revulsion would be there if it wasn't in the context of Clinton, but it has been lurking and bubbling there about sexual harassment law," said Elizabeth M. Schneider, a professor at Brooklyn Law School.

But some proposals to reduce the law's focus on sex come from an unexpected quarter: feminist legal scholars who argue that the concentration on sexual interaction has hurt women because it has diverted attention from wider issues that affect women's rights.

VICKI SCHULTZ, a Yale Law School professor, has attracted national attention by arguing that the courts' preoccupation with sexual issues has undermined the goals of civil rights laws. Courts, she said, have often lost sight of such questions as whether women receive equal opportunity. "True, sexualized interaction occurs," Professor Schultz said. "But it is only one tool among many used against women. But we have become obsessively focused on, 'Did he make a sexual advance?'"

The focus has become so narrow, she said, that courts often dismiss harassment claims filed by women. She mentioned as one example a case of a woman supervisor who said men at work had made it impossible for her to do her job by laughing dismissively whenever she issued orders. But since the supervisor did not claim she had been subject to sexual advances, a court said she had no case.

In hundreds of such cases, Professor Schultz said, courts have said they are powerless to act because there is no evidence of a hostile work environment unless there is evidence of sexual advances.

If there are two distinct schools of thought about sex and the legal system, the "Get used to it" advocates seem to have the momentum, with some judges and scholars arguing that a modern justice system must

pay increased attention to sexual issues.

In a few states, for example, judges have begun to consider cases of "sexual fraud," an offense that reverses decades of modern law by defining sex as a transaction much like any other that can be a ground for suit. One partner's false statement of sexual health, for example, could be a basis for courtroom inquiry.

Separately, a University of Chicago law professor, Stephen J. Schulhofer, argues that rape law is too narrowly focused on whether an attacker uses violence. He urges that the legal system expand the definition of rape to include other forms of intimidation beyond violence, like the coercion of women to have sex with men who have power over them, like professors, therapists or lawyers.

His proposal, advanced in "Unwanted Sex" (Harvard University, 1998), would sharply expand the need for testimony about how and why sexual acts occurred.

Similarly, Professor Larson and a colleague are drawing notice with a new book that argues that lawyers and judges should shake off remaining inhibitions and dive more fully into the sexual fray. In "Hard Bargains: The Politics of Sex" (Oxford University), Professor Larson and Linda Hirshman, a professor at Brandeis University, maintain that the legal system should expand its focus on some forms of sexual activity because shifting sex roles dictate changes in a legal system they say was designed to assure that men retained control in sexual relationships.

They also suggest that the law abandon its preoccupation with some sexual matters, arguing, for instance, that prostitution should be decriminalized. But they add that in many instances more regulation of sexual activity is warranted — for example, a betrayed spouse should be allowed to sue the sexual partner of a betraying spouse for money damages.

To some extent, the legal system has always had to deal with sex. But getting used to it has taken time. Prosecutors in rape cases have always had to prove that sexual penetration occurred. But until a few decades ago, it was routine for courtrooms in some places to be closed or women excused when the details were discussed.

Until the early 1960's, adultery was one of the few

grounds for divorce in many states. But proof of the sex act was often avoided with oblique testimony about such issues as arrival and departure times from hotel rooms, said Carol Sanger, a professor at Columbia Law School. "Adultery came into court quite a lot," Professor Sanger said. "But there was no sex."

For most of this century, very discreet state laws prohibited oral sex and other disapproved sex acts in language drafted with such propriety that the acts were seldom actually mentioned. One Florida statute forbade "the abominable and detestable crime against nature" without describing exactly what that crime was.

In a 1975 decision, the Supreme Court approved of such discretion in drafting legislation. "Anyone who cared to do so," the Court said in an unsigned opinion, "could certainly determine what particular acts have been considered crimes against nature."

Since those days, sexual controversies of extraordinary variety have landed in court. In fact, the courts have been an important forum in the revolution in sexual attitudes, said Richard A. Posner, a leading conservative who is chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in Chicago.

Judge Posner wrote "Sex and Reason" (Harvard University, 1992), which he described as a book intended to shame fellow judges into learning more about the sexual issues they routinely face in court.

JUDGE POSNER said such education was necessary because the courts have been flooded with all kinds of sexual issues, including cases involving child molestation, palimony, Internet pornography and even sex change operations.

Now that the courts have opened their doors to subjects that were once seen as salacious, society has come to see sex as just another subject for the numbing routine of litigation. For judges caught in the avalanche of descriptions of body parts, Judge Posner said, sex is now a stock in trade.

As a result, judges everywhere have lost the inhibitions that once helped limit courtroom explicitness. "If you are a butcher," Judge Posner said, "you are not squeamish about blood."

ECONOMY

Deals Still Define the Market

By LAURA M. HOLSON

It was a chilly Tuesday in January when Michael Birck, chief executive and co-founder of Tellabs Inc., found himself stuck at O'Hare International Airport in Chicago. With snow piling up, he was hard pressed to make the 2 P.M. speech he was scheduled to give at Morgan Stanley Dean Witter's annual technology conference in Phoenix.

Finally airborne, three hours late, Mr. Birck checked in with his secretary, Mary McShane. "Do you know what happened to the stock?" she asked. "We're up \$9 a share." Phones were ringing off the hook at Tellabs headquarters in Lisle, Ill., with analysts and reporters asking for his whereabouts. But it wasn't until Mr. Birck was cornered by a reporter at the conference that he learned why his stock shot up 20 percent that day. The reason, he was told matter-of-factly, was that Mr. Birck had been meeting with executives of Lucent Technologies to discuss a possible merger.

Mr. Birck denied the report. Tellabs was not then and is not now in talks with Lucent, he said in a recent interview. "It struck me as beyond bizarre, based totally on unsupported rumors," he said. "It's not healthy." And he wasn't the only one who was upset. "I hate this market," said Robert Gensler, an analyst at T. Rowe Price, the Baltimore-based mutual fund company, which owns shares of Tellabs, a telecommunications equipment maker. "Fundamental analysis is completely out the window. I could start other rumors you'd like, but Lucent and Tellabs wouldn't be it."

While investors' love affair with Internet stocks has been the most torrid development on Wall Street the last few months, lost is the fact that this decade's merger boom has been the true market mania of the 90's — bigger, broader and more significant for investors and the economy alike. Indeed, the Internet hoopla itself is as much about deal making as it is about the stock market debuts of young "dot-com" companies.

The frenzied takeovers of the 1980's were often more dramatic — hostile assaults by corporate raiders, whose maneuverings for support from institutional investors were chronicled as if they were movements in a ground war. But with the broadening of stock ownership by average Americans — through mutual funds, stock portfolios, pensions and 401(k) plans — and the pervasiveness of mergers in nearly every industry, few Americans are unaffected by today's merger wave.

Since January 1994, roughly the starting point of the decade's boom in deal making, \$7.1 trillion in deals have been announced worldwide. Of the 50 biggest American companies, measured by market value at the start of that year, six have disappeared through mergers — including Chrysler, Amoco and Nynex — and three more will vanish if announced deals are completed. Those 50 companies have been involved in 4,190 mergers or acquisitions in the last five

years, with a total value estimated at \$1.4 trillion, according to the Securities Data Company, a provider of financial information in Newark.

No longer is it just sophisticated institutions that trade merger stocks actively. Now, with the 24-hour-a-day availability of detailed financial news and chatter on television or on line, everybody can play the game. And the slightest hint of an executive power chat can send stock prices soaring or tumbling, depending on whether investors love or hate the possible combination.

Many people who own shares in merging companies in the weeks, or even days, before an announced takeover are getting a rush not too different from that enjoyed by Internet stock players as some of their investments double or better, at least in the short term.

"People buy and sell stocks based on an expectation that everything is in play," said Steven Koch, co-head of mergers and acquisitions at Credit Suisse First Boston. "Rumors can move the world with abandon."

As a result, investors are fast becoming takeover junkies.

"It's so sexy, everyone wants to be a part of it," said John Markese, president of the American Association of Individual Investors. "Part of the mind-set is any company could be a merger candidate. People have

This decade's merger boom has been the true market mania of the 1990's.

that in the back of their heads and use it almost as a wild card."

Consider Faith Van Voolen, a 55-year-old social worker in Syracuse, who, with her husband, Arthur, has been investing in stocks for years. The couple won't buy Internet companies because they are too risky, Mrs. Van Voolen said. But last year, 4 of the more than 20 blue-chip stocks in their portfolio — the Exxon Corporation, the Mobil Corporation, Citicorp and Rubbermaid Inc. — hooked up with partners. "The mergers of a decade ago didn't impact us all that much," she said. "But now it is something we think about all the time."

So much so that Mrs. Van Voolen and her husband have regular debates over breakfast about whether to keep the stocks of merged companies in their portfolio. She scans business talk shows and newspapers for any scrap of news and often talks with her broker and accountant about the merits of deals. And she worries, as any investor should, whether the combinations announced these days are a result of well-thought-out strategies or ill-conceived matchmaking. "We are really not sure how it will affect us in the long term," she said.

Stories like hers abound. Pete Kelley, a self-employed investor in Vermont with a portfolio worth about \$150,000, recently bought shares of Infoseek, the Internet search-engine company, with the hope that the Walt Disney Company will buy the remaining 57 percent of Infoseek it does not already own.

"I would not have bought it if I didn't think it would be acquired," Mr. Kelley said.

Victoria Collins, a financial planner in Irvine, Calif., said buying shares once a deal has been announced is an integral part of the investing strategy she deploys for her clients. Currently, one of every four stocks in her clients' portfolios is involved in a merger, she said. "You are taking the chance that the deal could fall apart," she said. "But these are companies we'd want to own whether the deal falls apart or not."

Even Long-Term Capital Management, the hedge fund that was taken over by a consortium of investment banks last fall, played the merger game, albeit with disastrous results. It learned the hard way how risky betting on acquisitions could be, losing hundreds of millions when Tellabs backed out of a deal to buy the Ciena Corporation, another telecommunications equipment maker.

"Do I think that the merger wave is having a psychological impact? Yes," said Samuel Hayes, a professor of finance at the Harvard Business School. "The fingertips are sensitive to every single clue."

Takeovers Go Mainstream

In the 1980's, many takeovers were perceived as attacks, often on self-satisfied managements, by impatient and often greedy investors intent on squeezing costs to bolster the value of their shares.

Since then, mergers have undergone a makeover. Now they are just another tool in corporate America's kit, a tactic used either to increase earnings or to transform corporations into strong global competitors. Workers don't fear losing jobs, as they did a decade ago, because unemployment is low. And the sheer number of megadeals has insured investors to the surprise of yet another announcement in the Monday morning newspaper.

So it is not surprising that in recent months, market watchers have turned their attention elsewhere. According to Securities Data, January was a record month for domestic mergers in terms of dollar value — \$131 billion, including Vodafone Group's planned acquisition of AirTouch Communications for \$60 billion and Lucent's proposed purchase of Ascend Communications for \$30 billion. But few of the deals stirred the interest they might have only a few months ago, unless, of course, they involved the Internet. The same forces driving deals in other industries, however, are fueling consolidation among Internet companies. America Online started the wave last November when it agreed to acquire Netscape Communications for \$4.2 billion. Several companies have announced acquisitions or partnerships since then. Yahoo, the leading portal company, agreed to acquire Geocities, the biggest collection of personal World Wide Web pages, for \$3.6 billion in stock. Just last week, Lycos, another portal company, agreed to a merger with the electronic shopping units of USA Networks.

"Essentially what you have is Internet time at work," said Brad Koenig, co-head of global high technology at Goldman Sachs. "The landscape in existence this week is not the same landscape as last week."

Despite those dizzying combinations, Internet stocks are only a small part of the merger pie — and even less of the total market. Morgan Stanley Dean Witter calculates the total value of the 77 companies it tracks in the Internet sector, excluding the \$75 billion America Online, at \$153 billion.

That pales next to the value of all domestic mergers last year: \$1.6 trillion, or 11 percent of the total capitalization of the stock market. And because the number of publicly traded shares in Internet stocks is so limited, relatively few investors own them. Instead, much of the market fervor in the sector is driven by the frantic activity of day traders.

Not so with merger stocks over all. No one who invests broadly in the stock market — particularly in mutual funds — can escape playing the takeover game. At the end of last year, one of every three diversified American mutual funds owned at least five companies involved in the top 25 deals for 1998, according to Morningstar Inc., the Chicago financial publisher. And one of every 12 funds owned at least 15 companies involved in those mergers.

The public's fascination with Internet stocks has been fueled in large part by the unprecedented gains that some of them have recorded on the first day of trading — a 163 percent gain by Ebay, for example, or the 119 percent rise of Geocities. But merger stocks are not without quick one-day gains of their

Let's Make a Deal

Investors would have been hard pressed to avoid the impact of mergers and acquisitions over the last five years. Among them, the 50 American companies that had the biggest market value at the start of 1994 have been party to 4,190 deals, an average of about 84 a company. And nine of the corporate giants have been — or are in the process of being — absorbed into other companies themselves.

| Company | Total deals since 1994 | Ranking by market value | |
|--|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | | Jan. 3 '94 | Feb. 10, '99 |
| General Electric | 454 | 1 | 2 |
| BellSouth | 412 | 20 | 26 |
| Exxon | 165 | 2 | 5 |
| Atlantic Richfield | 152 | 45 | 114 |
| Unilever | 155 | 40 | 58 |
| General Motors | 151 | 9 | 47 |
| Time Warner | 144 | 46 | 51 |
| Texaco | 141 | 44 | 81 |
| MCI Communications | 137 | 50 | — |
| Acquired by Worldcom, forming MCI Worldcom | 132 | 22 | — |
| Amoco | 132 | 12 | 5 |
| Acquired by British Petroleum | 132 | 12 | 5 |
| I.B.M. | 120 | 47 | — |
| Nynex | 118 | 5 | 9 |
| Acquired by Bell Atlantic | 112 | 11 | 43 |
| Coca-Cola | 111 | 3 | 11 |
| Du Pont | 102 | 16 | 34 |
| AT&T | 91 | 41 | 148 |
| Ford Motor | 83 | 48 | 20 |
| Sears Roebuck | 79 | 49 | 108 |
| BankAmerica | 76 | 26 | 60 |
| Acquired by Nationsbank, which adopted its name | 75 | 15 | 25 |
| Dow Chemical | 69 | 10 | 18 |
| Mobil | 65 | 31 | 7 |
| Has agreed to be acquired by Exxon | 61 | 18 | 19 |
| Procter & Gamble | 56 | 24 | 3 |
| Pfizer | 55 | 14 | 46 |
| Johnson & Johnson | 55 | 36 | 72 |
| Intel | 51 | 39 | 107 |
| PepsiCo | 51 | 7 | 22 |
| US West | 50 | 21 | 15 |
| Eastman Kodak | 49 | 28 | 36 |
| Philip Morris | 45 | 19 | 51 |
| American International Group | 44 | 37 | 29 |
| Walt Disney | 43 | 13 | 42 |
| Chewon | 38 | 33 | 38 |
| Hewlett-Packard | 33 | 30 | — |
| GTE | 30 | 34 | 30 |
| Has agreed to be acquired by Bell Atlantic | 30 | 17 | 16 |
| Ameritech | 30 | 23 | 25 |
| Has agreed to be acquired by SBC | 30 | 32 | — |
| Pacific Telesis | 30 | 34 | 30 |
| Acquired by SBC | 30 | 17 | 16 |
| American Home Products | 30 | 23 | 25 |
| Bristol-Myers Squibb | 30 | 32 | — |
| Bell Atlantic | 25 | 25 | 21 |
| Chrysler | 20 | 29 | 73 |
| Merged with Daimler-Benz to form DaimlerChrysler | 19 | 42 | 24 |
| Southwestern Bell (SBC) | 16 | 27 | 36 |
| Minnesota Mining & Mfg (3M) | 15 | 4 | 4 |
| EMC | 14 | 8 | 6 |
| Abbott Laboratories | 9 | 35 | 48 |
| Wal-Mart Stores | 8 | 6 | 23 |
| Marck | 7 | 43 | 27 |
| McDonald's | 2 | 22 | 32 |
| Royal Dutch Petroleum | — | — | — |
| Home Depot | — | — | — |
| Federal National Mortgage | — | — | — |

Source: Securities Data, Standard & Poor's

The New York Times

The Payoff From Mergers

Investors often enjoy big premiums when a company they own is acquired. Here are the top deals, ranked by the size of the premium, among all mergers and acquisitions last year involving American companies and valued at \$1 billion or more.

| Announced date | Target/ Acquirer | Value of deal as announced (billions) | 5-day premium |
|----------------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| Dec. 14 | Getchell Gold Placer Dome | \$1.07 | 117.4% |
| Dec. 15 | United States Satellite Broadcasting General Motors | 1.30 | 99.2 |
| July 31 | BetzDearborn Hercules | 2.14 | 94.6 |
| Oct. 29 | First Brands Correx | 1.52 | 92.6 |
| June 5 | Allied Group Nationwide Mutual Insurance | 1.63 | 79.5 |
| Aug. 28 | Berg Electronics Framatome | 1.44 | 71.2 |
| Dec. 1 | Artemis Vascular Engineering Medtronic | 3.47 | 69.8 |
| Dec. 17 | Envoy Quintiles Transnational | 1.80 | 67.4 |
| Oct. 22 | Rubbermaid Newell | 5.80 | 65.4 |
| March 12 | Waste Management USA Waste Services | 18.73 | 64.0 |

The percentage difference between the announced acquisition price and the market price of shares in the target company five days before the merger announcement. In stock deals, the actual premium collected by shareholders can change significantly by the time a deal is closed.

Source: Mergerstat, a division of Hoar, Loken, Howard & Zuck

The New York Times

Training the New Boss

By PAUL SWEENEY

WHEN Thomas D. White joined Foodmaker, the parent of the Jack in the Box fast-food chain, as a vice president and regional manager, he didn't do a lick of work at his new job for two months.

Instead, he went through a program, called "on boarding," that was intended to introduce him to the Foodmaker corporate culture and operations. He flipped burgers and cooked fries. He was assigned a mentor and met with a personal coach, who monitored his progress. He observed the work of regional managers in Florida and California. Only after completing the eight-week program did Mr. White, a veteran of 15 years at Burger King, take the reins in the Pacific Northwest region of the company, which is based in San Diego.

"It was probably the first time I've taken a new position and, from Day 1, knew my duties and knew how to get things done in an organization," Mr. White said. Without the on-boarding program, he added, "I would probably be six months to a year behind where I am now."

Elaborate programs like Foodmaker's, a quantum leap from the typical company's here's-your-desk, there's-the-rest-room orientation, are still rare. But they are beginning to spread because they can greatly reduce turnover. Foodmaker says that all but 2 of the 24 managers who completed its on-boarding program in the last four years are still with the company.

Many companies invest heavily in management development. General Electric reckons that it spends \$1 billion a year on leadership programs around the world. Companies as diverse as Wal-Mart Stores, Boeing

and Airtouch Communications have programs to foster teamwork, communication and cooperation.

But according to Derek van Bever, chief research officer at the Corporate Leadership Council, a Washington-based association of human resources executives, the Foodmaker program "is one of the few instances where they make learning about the company your first job."

Mr. van Bever said the quick orientations at most companies did little to help integrate talented newcomers, contributing to a widespread and costly but little-publicized problem: a high washout rate in the upper ranks of management.

The council surveyed 25 large companies in 1997 and found that, on average, half of the new hires in top echelons had quit or were dismissed within three years; one company reported an 80 percent washout rate. In another study, by Manchester Inc., a consulting firm in Bala Cynwyd, Pa., 82 percent of human-resources executives said the failure "to build partnerships with peers and subordinates" was the most common reason for

the premature departure of a newly appointed manager.

Corporate culture "is incredibly important," said Marcia J. Owen, director of human resources development at Foodmaker.

"It's the framework in which you get your job done," she said. "When you introduce someone new into an organization, it's important that the person understands the nuances of the group."

COMPANIES squander a lot of money when new executive hires don't stay. An executive search firm typically gets a fee of four months' pay for the post being filled, and relocation expenses can run to \$100,000, said Gail Hamity Vergara, manager of the Chicago office of Spencer Stuart, a search firm. Those costs must often be paid again to hire a replacement.

And it can take senior managers a long time to settle in. An October 1995 survey, sponsored by Spencer Stuart, looked at 46 executives who had changed jobs in the previous 18 months. One-third of the executives reported needing as long as a year to adjust

to the new company, while three-quarters said that adapting to a new corporate culture was their highest hurdle, far ahead of learning new business practices or mastering communications systems.

"It often takes 18 months for people to get oriented, but many organizations only give you 6 months," said Lewis R. Stern, a senior vice president at Manchester Consulting. At many companies, he added, "there is no more honeymoon."

Of course, total conformity may be the last thing a company wants from new hires. Outsiders are often recruited specifically for the new ideas and new experiences they can bring to a stale or complacent company, said Regina Miller, director of organizational development and training at Airtouch in San Francisco.

"The question becomes: How do you influence a culture that's different, and how do you get people to accept new ideas?" she said. "That's why you were hired in the first place. But if you do it by condemning the culture or being heavy-handed, you'll get frozen out."

The New York Times

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Beyond Impeachment

The Senate's acquittal of President Clinton brings relief to a scandal-weary country, but it ushers in a new era of distrust in Washington. For all their pledges to seek a new bipartisanship, Democrats may now be more interested in trying to capitalize on impeachment fatigue by confronting and demonizing the Republicans in order to retake Congress. Republicans are divided, perplexed and wary of Democratic motives. But that is only a snapshot, 21 months before the next election. The future need not be characterized by more trench warfare. Both parties have time to lift their sights and approach their work in the constructive spirit desired by the public.

The Democrats are feeling confident now that Republican House managers could not get even a majority of senators to back the perjury and obstruction charges against Mr. Clinton. Richard Gephardt, assessing the slim Republican edge in the House and the party's fumbling since the election, has sensibly decided to remain as the House Democratic leader, withdraw from the Presidential race and focus his energies on becoming Speaker. That leaves Mr. Gephardt and Vice President Al Gore in a tight alliance that poses a more serious political and fund-raising threat to the Republicans.

But Democrats must also be careful not to appear indifferent to the public's tortured ambivalence toward President Clinton and his conduct. Any White House-inspired attempt to punish the House impeachment managers could easily backfire, reinforcing the image of an unrepentant President. Most of the House managers are from extremely safe districts, in any case.

As chastened as they may be by the impeachment debacle, Republicans can take some comfort in the fact that it ended with a measure of dignity. That conclusion is a tribute to Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, who managed to maintain a bipartisan spirit even when the votes were not. He avoided the mistakes of the House, kept the Senate

dialogue going and mostly allowed all sides to feel they had given it a legitimate shot, though this judicious tone was marred somewhat by Mr. Lott's bitter comments about the President after the vote.

The pressures on Republicans are tremendous. They are more split over politics, cultural matters and basic issues like tax cuts and Social Security than at any time since seizing control of Congress in 1994, and have a precarious House majority that makes any defection a potentially fatal blow. The underlying fissures surfaced last week when 11 House Republicans walked away from a plan for an across-the-board tax cut supported by the new Speaker, Dennis Hastert, who had hoped to make taxes the centerpiece of his campaign to unite the party around Reagan-style verities.

Despite the partisan tension, there are points of agreement on issues of great concern to the public. A bipartisan majority in both the Senate and the House favors legislation to reform campaign-finance laws, raise the minimum wage and create a patient's bill of rights. Many Republicans are also prepared to join with Democrats to spend more for school construction and new teachers, special-education programs, tax credits to help families care for the disabled and for stopping suburban sprawl through undeveloped land. Mr. Hastert apparently feels he cannot afford politically to anger his party's base or its right wing. But he also needs to respect the independence of those Republicans ready to make deals with the Democrats. Besides, if agreements on smaller issues can be fashioned, they can serve, to borrow the language of arms control, as confidence-building measures to get to the larger issues later in the year.

With the impeachment process completed, Americans yearn for a Congress that can actually accomplish something. Reverting to more party warfare will hurt both sides. The trick will be for lawmakers to look beyond their trenches to see where the public interest lies.

American Food for Iran

Twenty years after Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic revolution, a spirit of moderation is growing among Iran's people and political leaders. That has created an opportunity for repairing relations with the United States that the Clinton Administration has been usefully exploring for more than a year. A recent Iranian request to purchase large amounts of American grains and sugar offers a timely and appropriate way to advance this reconciliation.

America's relations with Iran have been icy since radical students seized Washington's Tehran Embassy in 1979 and held diplomats hostage there for 444 days. Anti-American clerics remain a powerful and repressive force in Iran's politics. But for millions of Iranians, personal freedom and interchange with the outside world are more compelling goals than theological purity.

In 1997, Iranians overwhelmingly elected a moderate cleric, Mohammad Khatami, as President. Iran's Constitution gives him only limited powers and he has faced fierce resistance from the ruling clergy. But Mr. Khatami has skillfully used his popularity to expand his influence. Last week he forced an overdue housecleaning of top officials at the Intelligence Ministry. The agency has sponsored international terrorism in the past and acknowledged that its agents directed the recent murders of leading liberal intellectuals in Tehran.

Iran has long been a grain importer and the

United States used to be a major source of its supplies. But since American export restrictions were tightened in the early 1990's, Tehran has turned to Australia and New Zealand for most of its imported grain. Last September, an American trading company acting on behalf of Iran requested a waiver of American export controls to buy almost 3 million tons of grain and 400,000 tons of sugar.

Iran's economy has been hobbled by low oil prices and Mr. Khatami's popularity could be threatened by continued privation. Large American grain exports would assure the Government ample supplies of wheat to sell at subsidized prices, thus showing that Mr. Khatami's more moderate foreign policy can pay domestic dividends.

Better relations with Iran could provide Washington with an important regional counterweight to Saddam Hussein. But the Administration has rightly set three conditions for a full return to normal relations. Tehran must abandon its nuclear and other unconventional weapons programs, refrain from sponsoring terrorism and not interfere with Mideast peace efforts between Israel and Arab leaders. On the last two points, at least, there has been progress. America should proceed cautiously with Iran. But when there is an opportunity to reward and encourage moderation without incurring serious risks, as in the case of the food sales, Washington should seize it.

Now That It's Over, What Will History Say?

To the Editor:

There is no reason to lament the Senate's failure to reach a censure resolution (front page, Feb. 13), which you have insisted was the only way to conclude the impeachment process with "dignity" and "on an honorable note" (editorial, Feb. 11). Censure would have been little more than an official sermon for the country's spiritual well-being.

Most of us did not elect our senators (or other officials) to serve as secular pastors but to represent us in the matters prescribed by the Constitution. The notion that our moral outlook or our cultural values require a senatorial endorsement of the House managers' sanctimony patronizes the intelligence and integrity of ordinary citizens.

The Senate has done its proper job, if not with grace, at least with diligence. THOMAS V. MAGUIRE
Pleasantville, N.Y., Feb. 13, 1999

To the Editor:

Failure to reach 67 votes to convict the President is not tantamount to acquittal (front page, Feb. 13). Since 67 votes are needed to convict, it would seem that 67 votes would be needed to reach a true verdict of acquittal. A split vote would be the same as a hung jury and thus be a mistrial. History would not perceive the President as acquitted but as having received a verdict equal to censure. No further action would be needed. ASNER J. BERWITZ
Flushing, Queens, Feb. 13, 1999

To the Editor:

The votes have been cast and President Clinton will remain in office, and the country can breathe a collective sigh of relief (front page, Feb. 13).

But it was a close call. A partisan majority in Congress ignored the will of the people and was nearly able to overturn an election.

It is time for a measure that will protect our country from the harm that results from unbridled partisanship.

The best means of preventing another unwarranted impeachment would be a constitutional amendment requiring a two-thirds majority vote for impeachment in the House, just as the Constitution now requires for conviction in the Senate. KENDALL WELLS
Knoxville, Tenn., Feb. 13, 1999

To the Editor:

Re "Tripp Says Her Betrayal Aimed to Get Lewinsky Out of Affair" (front page, Feb. 12): If a majority of Americans would not punish the President with the ultimate sanction, and if Monica S. Lewinsky is suddenly an elegant ingenue, can this country possibly spare Linda R. Tripp some good old-fashioned forgiveness? Perhaps, at a minimum, some short-term memory?

I cannot help but believe that if Mrs. Tripp remains the villain and Mr. Clinton and Ms. Lewinsky are

forgiven, it is because the President has power and Ms. Lewinsky has youth.

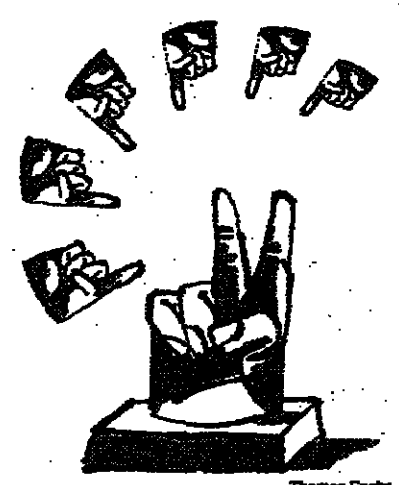
Mrs. Tripp is older, not thin and clearly no Susan Sarandon. All three qualities are still fair play for abuse and ridicule, and women are the targets. RACHEL SIMMONS
Oxford, England, Feb. 12, 1999

To the Editor:

If the Democratic and Republican senators followed their oath and truly voted their consciences in the impeachment matter, the two political philosophies are so far apart that bipartisanship is impossible (front page, Feb. 13). If the facts as presented and understood by most result in this party-line vote, we have a dishonest Congress that will eventually be a fatal cancer to this country. ROY A. FASSEL
Los Angeles, Feb. 13, 1999

To the Editor:

The Senate sent the wrong message (front page, Feb. 13). While I understand that the senators carried out their constitutional duties, I



think they followed public opinion and worries over their own re-election instead of taking the courageous route and doing what was right and just.

What the Senate has told every star quarterback on a winning team is that it's O.K. to break the law. As long as you are heading to the playoffs, then we'll look the other way. PAUL NICHE
Wilton, Conn., Feb. 13, 1999

To the Editor:

President Clinton will be making a big mistake if he thinks that the polls against impeachment translate to personal loyalty to him ("Clinton Yows Strong Drive to Win a House Majority, Advisers Say," front page, Feb. 11).

No doubt he will raise lots of money, but the mood of the people is to put this thing behind them, not to be reminded of it throughout Mr. Clinton's last two years in office. He may find that the cynicism and disgust engendered among the electorate applies as much to Democrats bent

on revenge as to zealous Republicans. ALLEN S. THORPE
Castle Dale, Utah, Feb. 11, 1999

To the Editor:

Laurence H. Tribe (Op-Ed, Feb. 12) reveals in the Constitution's brilliance on impeachment. I disagree. If an impeachment mechanism existed, such cases would be handled by Federal grand juries, and any indictments appealed to the Supreme Court. Unlike the present charade, both the President and the American people would receive due process at each step. Most important, objective criteria would be stated, precluding Congressional overturning of elections.

Impeachment is an anachronism, and those who continue to support the process are advocating a separate and soft justice for a designated elite. The Founding Fathers were wrong about slavery and suffrage, and they were wrong not to trust the Federal courts to handle official high crimes and misdemeanors.

Impeachment should be abolished. CLAYTON VERNON
Austin, Tex., Feb. 12, 1999

To the Editor:

I was puzzled by William Safire's statement that the "System worked" (column, Feb. 11). When the impeachment proceedings began, the Senate could have voted up or down on whether the articles of impeachment satisfied the constitutional threshold of high crimes or misdemeanors. A dismissal at that point would have been constitutionally sound and would have been a good lesson for the House: Don't waste our time on low crimes and simple misconduct.

If the articles survived that vote, the senators could have engaged in a real trial. Instead, the Senate tried to strike a middle ground — this half-hearted farce that sets an awful precedent for future impeachment proceedings that don't give the President any constitutional procedural protections. JOSEPH W. RAND
Brooklyn, Feb. 11, 1999

The writer is a professor at Brooklyn Law School.

To the Editor:

"We happy few," said Henry J. Hyde in his final summation at the Senate trial (Capitol Sketchbook, Feb. 9), waxing Shakespearean in a curious and furious self-reference to the 13 House managers' prosecutorial crusade.

"We unhappy many," as two-thirds of the country should be called, may be forgiven for reaching 25 centuries back to an observation by Thucydides in his history of the Peloponnesian War, which seems as apt to the current inquisition: "The great wish of some is to avenge themselves on some particular enemy . . . and so . . . the common cause imperceptibly decays." The common cause will be advanced by bringing to a merciful end the hypocrisies of vengeful partisanship. RUBEN G. RUMBAUT
Beverly Hills, Mich., Feb. 9, 1999

Gay Teletubby? It Could Be the Best Thing on TV

To the Editor:

Jerry Falwell's assertion that one of the characters in "Teletubbies," a children's television show, is gay, is laughable (news item, Feb. 11).

What would he rather have our children watch — professional wrestling?

The impeachment proceedings? The insidious Barney?

It is the simple-mindedness of people like Mr. Falwell and the bumblebrats in Washington who refuse adequately to finance public television that has left it dependent on imports for children's programming.

Television-viewing recommendations are best left to concerned, educated parents who work day in and day out to raise children who are open-minded, compassionate and tolerant. LISA EDMUNDS
Miami, Feb. 11, 1999

Gender Orientation

To the Editor:

The discussion over whether Tinky Winky, the purple character on the children's television show "Teletubbies," is gay misses a crucial point in that critics are confusing gender-role behavior with sexual orientation (news item, Feb. 11).

Tinky Winky, a presumably male character who carries a patent-leather handbag, transcends current social constructions of gender behavior and therefore serves as a positive role model for all children.

Perhaps if there were more characters like Tinky Winky, we would see less ridicule and harassment of young people who behave differently from the gender norm and the expansion of behavioral options for all. WARREN J. BLUMENFELD
Northampton, Mass., Feb. 11, 1999

A Daughter Explains

To the Editor:

My daughter Paula, who is 3, hastens to correct Jerry Falwell about the Teletubby Tinky Winky's sexuality ("Falwell Sees 'Gay' in a Teletubby," news item, Feb. 11). "Tinky Winky is the daddy. Dipsy is the mommy. Laa Laa and Po are the babies," she explains.

I'm reassured as well. After watching the show, I had concluded that the Teletubbies were four alien toddlers living in a burrow, supervised by a vacuum cleaner, but what do we adults know? LAURIE ARON
New York, Feb. 11, 1999

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Editorial Observer, FLOYD NORRIS

Using Phony Numbers to Push for Tax Cuts

Just how high are taxes?

Very high and rising rapidly, according to statistics being used by senators pushing for big tax cuts.

"Taxes are at their highest level since World War II," wrote Senators Paul Coverdell and Robert Torricelli in an Op-Ed article in this newspaper last week. "In 1997, the median income for a two-earner family was \$55,000, \$22,000 of which went to pay Federal, state and local taxes. Adjusted for inflation, that is triple the burden it was in 1955. In other words, families would have had \$13,000 more in annual income had the tax burden remained constant."

Is all that true? The short answer is no. Some of it is accurate, some badly distorted. The paragraph does a much better job of illustrating how statistics can be abused than it does of shedding light on tax burdens.

There is no doubt that tax collections have risen faster, on an overall basis, than anyone expected. In fiscal 1998 total Federal tax and fee receipts were 20.5 percent of the nation's gross domestic product, up from 18.4 percent in 1994 and the highest since 1944, when the figure was 20.9 percent. Thus the first sentence quoted above is accurate.

Why did tax receipts go up so

Has the tax burden tripled since 1955? Of course not.

rapidly? It was not due to changes in the law. The last big tax increase was passed in 1983 and was completely in place in 1994. The 1997 tax act actually cut taxes for many, particularly families with children. The answer is that the strong economy has increased tax receipts, and soaring stock prices have pushed up capital gains and the taxes paid on them. That surge explains the current budget surplus.

But how has that median-income family done? The Senators' staffs say they relied on a study by the Tax Foundation, a Washington-based research organization. But that study is questionable. Moreover, the Senators distort its conclusions.

The study assumes that all money taken in by the Federal, state and local governments came from individuals, whether payments were made by people, companies or even ranchers who were not paying taxes but simply leasing Government land

to let their cattle graze. But while adding in taxes that people do not pay to their tax burden, the study does not make similar adjustments to income.

Consider one example. The study allocates corporate income tax payments to shareholders as if they had paid the taxes out of their own pockets. In fact, the taxes allocated to any shareholder are far greater than the dividends that shareholder received. People who own a lot of stock would be shown as paying taxes far in excess of their income.

Is that fair? "It would be an exaggeration," conceded J. D. Foster, the Tax Foundation's executive director and chief economist, adding that he had never considered the issue.

Nor do the Tax Foundation's income figures include capital gains. But the tax-payment numbers do.

One adjustment the Tax Foundation does make in calculating the tax burden is to add to income the Social Security tax paid by employers. That is proper, but it was ignored by the Senators when they quoted the median income figure for a two-earner family of \$55,000, which does not include the Social Security tax, and the tax burden of \$22,000, which does.

Even worse is the Senators' statement that the tax burden has tripled.

That is based on the Tax Foundation's conclusion that a median family in 1955 paid \$8,000 in taxes, adjusted for inflation. Triple that and you get, more or less, \$22,000.

The Tax Foundation, to its credit, made no such statement. By its calculations, the tax burden for such a family in 1955 was 27.9 percent, compared with 37.6 percent in 1997. That is an increase, but it is far from a tripling. The latest figure, by the way, is virtually unchanged from the 1985 level.

How do the Senators defend their numbers? Aides to Senator Coverdell referred queries to Senator Torricelli, whose spokeswoman said the numbers were justified by the Tax Foundation report.

Just why 1955 is a good comparison year is not clear. But if one wants to use it, remember that since then the Government has increased Social Security benefits substantially and begun the Medicare system. People in 1955 who were helping to support aging parents might have preferred the 1999 system.

The question of whether taxes should be cut when the Government is running a boom-induced surplus is a complicated one. Using dubious numbers does not help the debate.

In America
BOB HERBERT

What's Going On?

The students at Bushwick Outreach, an alternative high school in Brooklyn, were telling me about their encounters with the police. Some were quietly emotional, but the prevailing tone was resignation.

Lani Soto, who is 18, recalled the night last July when two uniformed officers approached her on a subway train in Bay Ridge. She had just left work and was on her way to Williamsburg, where she lives.

"It was about 11 o'clock," she said. "I was just sitting there and the cops came up and started asking me questions. One of the cops said, 'Get up.' I said I didn't want to get up. He grabbed me by my hair and said, 'You're going to get up.' He pulled me up by my hair and pushed my face into the doors. Then he started touching me sexually, claiming he was frisking me. He put his hands between my legs and on my breasts."

"When the train stopped and the doors opened, I just stepped out and they started laughing at me. I just started crying. The cops can do what they want because they have a badge and a gun. When it happened it made me feel low. I sat down on the bench and waited for the next train."

Richard Coram, 18, said he's been stopped and searched so many times "you almost become immune to it." He said the "most embarrassing incident" occurred late on a Friday afternoon when he and about eight friends were on their way to a party. "An undercover squad car pulled up on Liberty Avenue and these guys jumped out real fast, screaming at us. My friend said, 'Well, who are you?' They didn't like that so they said, 'All right, everybody on your knees.'"

"And they put us on our knees side by side and searched us one by one. They cursed at us the whole time. The sun was out and everybody was looking at us. When we got up we didn't even feel like going to the party. We went home."

Richard said he and his friends feel there is nothing they can do about the harassment, that it is just a routine part of life. "If you resist, you will get the beating of your life."

Joseph Angerona, 19, said he and some friends were hanging out on New Year's Eve when a group of police officers drove up and ordered them to line up against a wall. Joseph's mother spotted them from a window and ran outside. Joseph said that when she demanded to know what was happening, a cop told her to "shut the [expletive] up and keep on walking."

For black and Hispanic students, harassment by the cops is routine.

Joseph said, "I asked the cop why he was talking to my mom like that. He pulled out his gun, pointed it dead at me and told me to get up against the wall. I did what he said."

"We are always being harassed by the police. I believe it is because we are Hispanic. But what can you do about it?"

The students related their stories in separate interviews, one after another. Richard Wilcher told of the officer who, during a search, grabbed his genitals and squeezed and yanked so hard he had to go to a hospital for treatment. Omega Linton told of the officer who, for no reason, demanded identification, including her name, address, telephone number and Social Security number. When she objected, he threatened to arrest her. She gave him the information.

Emily Cruz was stopped in a subway station by an officer who demanded identification. She didn't have any. She said that when she objected to the way she was being treated the officer grabbed her, threw her against a wall and put her in handcuffs. Emily's teacher, Ellie Weiss, happened to come by a few minutes later. She persuaded the officers to remove the handcuffs and release her student.

The stories went on and on, too many for me to bear. Such is life for young black and Hispanic residents of New York City. They do not have the same rights as whites. The police treat them as lesser beings, stopping them, demanding identification, and searching their clothing and their bodies at will. They are fondled and beaten and endlessly humiliated while the Mayor, the Police Commissioner and other top officials simply look the other way.

"I've actually seen students break down, crying over what they feel is serious harassment," said Adam Gerstein, the principal of Bushwick Outreach. "When you see that the students really are traumatized, and when it happens so often, you're really got to wonder what's going on out there."



The Real Nightmare Remains

By Gary Hart

SINCE THE SAME FORCES that produced our national nightmare are all still at work — an independent inquisitor as a fourth branch of government, a 1980's-inspired battle over the bounds of private morality, the co-optation of the political parties by cultural forces, the expansion of press "scrutiny" into public officials' private lives and, it must be said, the frailty, error and some would say sinfulness of human beings — it is premature to hope the nightmare is over.

So long as these conditions exist, our society will continue to devour its leadership. Many Americans are angry right now because they believe that neither the President nor his prosecutors and defenders have placed the national interest above personal and partisan interests. Though some insist on judging the President on how he manages his personal life, history will judge him on how he has — or has not — helped manage Russia's transition to democracy, reformed the military or protected and nurtured the fragile, fragile energy crisis.

The intense focus on private morality comes at the expense of focusing on public morality. Sex is more intriguing, more tractable, more commercially rewarding than an issue like hungry children or homeless youths or inadequate health care for the elderly or global warming — or any other symptoms of our warped social priorities.

It is also distressing that talented Americans reject public service because it means running the gauntlet of hazing now required of candidates

Gary Hart, the former Democratic Senator from Colorado, is the author, most recently, of "The Mindeman."

and of nominees for appointive office. Added to the corrupting influence of campaign fund-raising and the absence of civility in the public forum, the evisceration of private lives is too much to ask people of stature and dignity to accept. We may be on our way to having a corps of public officials whose sexual report cards are spotless but who accept millions in special interest campaign money and callously neglect the needs of the poorest among us.

In search of genuine morality.

In an effort to combat excessive intrusiveness, some prospective candidates for national office, including Senator John McCain and Gov. George Bush, have recently let it be known that they will refuse to answer certain personal questions. As some of us know, however, this is no assurance against surreptitious surveillance or media feeding frenzies.

The First Amendment gives no one the license to use the "character issue" to destroy a character. Character is demonstrated over a lifetime, and nowhere more tellingly than in a public official's willingness to put principle above career, even if that principle is to say, "It's none of your business."

It will be decades, if ever, before we fully understand the public's response to the impeachment drama, especially the disparity between the President's favorable job rating and the substantially lower level of public trust in him.

Some say it is simply a reflection of a booming economy. But I think the American people may be saying, We know the difference between what is interesting and entertaining — public

officials' personal lives — and what is important — our children's future.

Our society has been forced to confront paradox: the paradox of public leadership and private fallibility, the paradox of cultural conservatism and personal individualism. We are a people who historically have found our paradoxes — slavery among them — difficult to resolve.

There is no amount of "scrutiny" that can penetrate the complexities of relationships, the layers of personality, the tangle of public duty and personal flaw, the awful, complex, fragile thing called the human heart.

We can only hope now for a society mature enough to understand that genuine morality is about more than sex, that fidelity is not simply a sexual term, that a leader can be sexually pure but lack public morality, that qualities of duty, honor and courage can be demonstrated by fallible human beings.

Once we know these things, we can dismiss the "independent" inquisitors, we can demand that news organizations report more prominently and more faithfully on the public's business, and we can, once more, welcome our most talented citizens into public service.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

A Pound of Flesh

WASHINGTON

After going to the House Judiciary hearing room, to watch Henry Hyde modestly concede defeat under an oil portrait of Henry Hyde, I sat in the park near my office for awhile.

It was a near-tropical day. Seagulls swooped. Valentine sweethearts canoodled. I felt hopeful, giddy even. Something that never should have happened had ended with some dignity and sense.

What a relief. All the gasbaggy and phony seriousness and incredible hypocrisy that had gone into this farce could now be applied to other issues.

The coda of the President's trial brought a goofy blast of bonhomie, with a grinning Trent Lott presenting William Rehnquist with a cheesy gold-plated gavel plaque, as if the Chief Justice had presided over a Rotary Club meeting.

The horrid fever that gripped Washington for a year seemed to break — recalling the moment when the Fairy Queen Titania, released from her spell, looks at Bottom and realizes she's been obsessed with an ass.

"And think no more of this night's accidents," Oberon tells her, "but as the fierce vexation of a dream."

But the dream, as we like to say in the news biz, soon turned into a nightmare. Within hours of what the incredibly annoying Lindsey Graham called the constitutional cleansing of the President, the skies suddenly grew dark with lightning and thunder and the capital grew dark with talk of revenge and betrayal. We spiraled from "Midsummer's Night's Dream" to "King Lear."

"I pardon that man's life, what was the cause?" Lear rails in the storm. "Adultery? Thou shalt not die. Die for adultery? No. The wren goes to't, and the small gilded fly does lecher in my sight... fie, fie, fie! Pah, pah!"

As Shakespeare knew, it's not easy to restore balance after an upheaval in the natural order of things. "I fear," Mr. Lott said as he belittled the President's character mere hours after the vote, "that this sordid saga is not over."

Pardoned, Bill Clinton wants payback. That's normal. As he once said about fund-raising, "You can't take politics out of politics." (It would also seem that you can't take Bill Clinton out of politics.)

The only real closure, after all, is revenge. Or, as Michael Corleone would say, the time has come to settle the family's business.

If the impeachment was Republican

payback for Watergate and the 60's, and the trashing of Anita Hill was Republican payback for the Democratic thwarting of Robert Bork, now the pendulum swings again, with Democrats determined to extract a pound of flesh. (It was a pound of flesh that got us into this mess.)

And the Republicans have given the Democrats plenty of ammunition. Just as Democrats once labored to shed the "L" word, now Republicans will be branded with the "I" word. Impeachment will carry the ominous overtones of a new Comstockism, the intrusion of moralism and politics into

Settling the family business.

private lives. We will continue to witness the titanic twilight struggle between Comstock and Woodstock.

The Republicans are whining about the President's plans to get even. The party of mega-bullies like Newt Gingrich and Tom DeLay is shocked that Mr. Clinton might yearn to knock off some of the guys who tried to knock him off.

The G.O.P. has always been expert at trivial vendettas.

Lobbying for President Bush's budget deal in 1990, chief of staff John Sununu canceled an Ohio Republican's reservation for the Presidential box at the Kennedy Center after that Congressman said he was leaning against the deal.

In October, there were news reports that Mr. DeLay threatened a high-tech trade group when it hired a former Democratic Congressman as its president, arguing that lobbying groups should only hire Republicans.

White House aides are trying to play down the notion that their boss plans a Valentine's Day massacre. They admit the President wants retribution in the next election, but say he has that dark impulse compartmentalized in one section of his brain. In another part of his brain, they say reassuringly, he wants reconciliation.

We should be happy the President is plotting revenge. At least revenge is an agenda. And an agenda is what Bill Clinton desperately lacks. If there's one thing we now know about this inhabitant of the Oval Office, it's that he must at all costs be kept busy.

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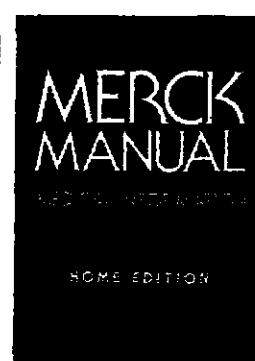
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Ringin' Off at Last

By Marvin Fast

I DON'T REMEMBER EXACTLY when it first occurred — the constant ringing in my ears — but I'm almost sure it began at night. I know this because it was dark outside and the ringing was loud enough to wake me.

"Terribly sorry to bother you," the caller from the BBC said. "But we'd like to interview your boss this morning — 6 A.M. precisely, your time."

Years from now, all of us in Washington will have our varied perspectives and memories of the impeachment of President Clinton. Some will remember grand floor speeches, votes or legal rulings. Me, I will always remember the sound of a phone. The curse of the Capitol Hill flack.

Oddly, I initially thought my experience as a former reporter, and my nine years on the staff of a prominent member of Congress, would prepare me for the avalanche of calls seeking interviews with, quotes from or talk-show appearances by my boss. I was wrong. I would have been better prepared for this spectacle by a job answering the phone at a take-out place during halftime of the Super Bowl. In fact, the flood of calls seemed to me to be a sort of fast-food approach to journalism — drive up, order what you need and then happily speed away.

I doubt many of these newfound friends will continue to call now that the circus is leaving town. But it was fun while it lasted. After all, it's not every day that you hear from virtually all the major networks and news outlets. (Actually, at the time, I think it was every day.)

One call might be CBS, NBC, ABC

Marvin Fast is press secretary for Senator Christopher J. Dodd, the Connecticut Democrat.

A press secretary under siege.

or CNN; the next might be C-Span, MSNBC, CNBC or Fox. I spent so much time in the "Green Rooms" of the Sunday shows that the producers probably thought I was the caterer. And that's not to mention the foreign media. (It didn't help that my boss is fluent in Spanish.)

But the real eye opener wasn't so much that the networks competed against each other; it was that individual programs from the same network competed — often ferociously — for a particular guest. Bookers for Larry King would duke it out with Wolf Blitzer. Charles Grodin would go toe to toe with Geraldine.

And what was a press secretary's reward at the end of another long day of being called countless times by the same network, asking if my boss could come on its various programs? A story on how senators were crawling over each other to get on the air.

But my favorite ritual was the walk through the Russell Rotunda, where networks did round-the-clock interviews with factorylike precision. Taking a member of Congress through the area was akin to waving a salmon in front of hungry Alaskan bears.

Still, years from now when my grandchildren ask what I remember most from this historic moment, it won't be speeches or votes. It will be the ringing. Reporters ringing for a quote. Networks ringing for an interview. Angry constituents ringing me at home to vent, since I left my number on my machine at work.

You'll pardon me if the next time we impeach a President, I'm hard to reach. I'm unplugging the phone.

By GILL MANN

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THE ARTS

Once Upon a Time, An Epic Was Shorn of Grandeur

By DAVID N. MEYER

IN 1972, the Italian director Sergio Leone turned down a chance to direct "The Godfather." His reason? Leone wanted to direct his own gangster picture, an operatic epic of Jewish mobsters from New York's Lower East Side entitled "Once Upon a Time in America." The film he eventually created, ten years and tens of millions of dollars later, may be the definitive gangster picture, or it may be a self-indulgent mess. Few people could say, because hardly anyone has ever seen it.

This Thursday and next Sunday, New Yorkers will have a rare chance to see the director's cut of Leone's magnum opus — which has not been

Sergio Leone's magnum opus is getting a showing with 81 minutes of cuts restored.

screened in this country since 1984. The film is part of the Second Act film series at the Museum of Modern Art, named after F. Scott Fitzgerald's famed assertion that "there are no second acts in American lives."

"Once Upon a Time in America" is a poignant inclusion in this series because of the struggles Leone went through in the hope of seeing his original vision reach American theaters. His failure to do so forced Leone to leave America for good. He never directed another film. The story of "Once Upon a Time in America" release represents the classic confrontation between a film artist and Hollywood money men.

Leone had already earned international fame, if not always critical respect, for his violent but extremely successful spaghetti Westerns starring Clint Eastwood ("A Fistful of Dollars," "The Good, the Bad and the Ugly"). But in 1972 he had not yet made a film for an American studio. The fact that he turned down "The Godfather," a best-selling novel, showed a willful, perhaps hubristic, self-confidence typical of this grandiose Italian director. Ten years later, after burning through numerous

David N. Meyer is the author of "A Girl and a Gun: The Complete Guide to Film Noir on Video." He's working on a biography of Sergio Leone.

screenplay drafts and as many writing partners, Leone was ready. With financial backing from the Ladd Company, Leone assembled a cast that included Robert De Niro, James Wood, Joe Pesci, Treat Williams (in the role of a tough Irish gangster first offered to Mr. Eastwood), Tuesday Weld and Elizabeth McGovern.

Leone indulged his epic vision by dragging his cast from New York to Montreal to Miami, then on to Venice and finally to the vast studio complex of Cinecittà in Rome. Among his many budgetary indulgences, Leone built the same block-long street set of the Lower East Side in three cities. In the process, he managed to spend what Variety estimated to be \$30 million, serious money in 1983.

"Once Upon a Time in America" had its premiere at the Cannes International Film Festival in 1984 to critical and audience acclaim. Leone was therefore shocked just days later when the Ladd Company rushed into American theaters a version that bore little resemblance to Leone's. More than an hour of film had been cut. The Cannes version, which will be shown at the Modern, ran almost four hours (219 minutes). At that length it violated Leone's contract, which called for him to deliver a film of no more than 165 minutes. Without consulting Leone or asking for his changes, Ladd released a version of just 138 minutes.

Leone's uncut version had been poorly received at test previews in Boston and Washington, recalled Jay Cantor, then a Ladd executive. "To see the audience walk out in droves astounded me."

But in cutting the film, Ladd sacrificed not only length but also structure and narrative coherence. Leone's version tells the story of two best friends, played by Mr. De Niro and Mr. Woods, who duel for control of a criminal empire. The tale spans their lives from their teens to middle age. In the film, Leone leaped backward and forward in time and broke off scenes at their climactic point, only to return to the same moment much later on.

The Ladd Company reassembled the film into a straightforward but truncated — and therefore often nonsensical — story. Almost none of the explicit violence was also excised. "I was in love with the film and could not understand the reaction of either of the previews," Mr. Cantor said. "But we felt that presenting a shorter version in a linear fashion might make the film more acceptable."

Cutting the film into a straightforward crime movie was a death blow, because to be credible Leone's deliberately mythical style required



Robert DeNiro and Dianne Wiest in a previously cut scene from Sergio Leone's "Once Upon a Time in America." Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art

an epic structure. American reviews were scathing, and the film failed at the box office. Pauline Kael wrote in The New Yorker, "I don't believe I've ever seen a worse case of mutilation."

This was a bitter blow for Leone, not the least because it perfectly mirrored his earlier battles with Paramount over his epic "Once Upon a Time in the West." That 1968 film was also shortened and released to commercial failure, although much later the restored director's cut came to be recognized as a classic. Because "Once Upon a Time in America" was the first major film to present explicitly Jewish-American gangsters, Leone suspected that multiple motives drove the studio's actions. According to the curator of the series, Antonio Monda, Leone recognized that his backers had le-

gitimate concerns over the length of the film, but he also believed that the violent image of American Jewry had perhaps made Ladd uneasy.

Mr. Cantor, however, emphatically denied that the film's depiction of Jews figured in the company's decision.

Mr. Monda said in an interview: "Leone told me that during the filming, he had consulted extensively with members of the Jewish community, both for historical accuracy and for the accuracy of his depiction of Jewish religious rites. He insisted that no one objected to the tone or

content of his picture." In addition, Mr. Monda said, Leone thought that the heavy cuts diluted his efforts to show that the American Mafia was not an entirely Italian entity, as was commonly perceived then.

Mr. Cantor, for one, has come to agree. "Hindsight is an interesting thing," he said. "I think now it was a mistake to have cut the picture. The film played very well in foreign territories. I've seen it since in its original version, and it's a wonderful picture."

The full-length version of "Once Upon a Time in America" was last

seen in New York at the 1984 New York Film Festival. After a brief national release at that time, it has not been seen since. A Holy Grail of sorts for Leone fans, it offers a vision of American gangsterdom rarely equaled for obsessiveness, violence or visual poetry.

Sergio Leone died in 1989 at the age of 67. Though still bitter over the fate of "Once Upon a Time in America," he was optimistically planning his next film, "The 1,000 Days," a \$100 million depiction of the siege of Stalingrad that was to star Robert De Niro.

Can That Be English? Speech That Trips on the Tongue

By FRANZ LIDZ and STEVE RUSHIN

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL'S famous pronunciation — "Mr. Watson, come here, I want you." — was the first intelligible sentence spoken by telephone. And the last intelligible sentence spoken by a Scotsman, in any medium. Or so it would seem to unaccustomed ears. Ask the Scottish director Bill Forsyth, whose 1981 film "Gregory's Girl" had to be redubbed for American and English audiences. Thick burrs were rendered thinner than cock-a-leekie soup.

Things have gotten worse. "My Name is Joe," a Glasgow-set feature from the director Ken Loach, was recently released here with subtitles, as if it weren't even nominally in English. When we phoned him for comment, Loach was indignant. At least we think he was indignant. At least we think he was Loach. Frankly, we couldn't understand a word.

The same can be said for a whole rash of recent British movies: from the Newcastle horseracing saga "Eden Valley" (1994) to the Edinburgh junkie saga "Trainspotting" (1996) to the Nottingham boxing saga "24-7" (1998). To American audiences, these films might as well be in Northern Malawian CheChewa. Moviegoers on these shores have long been baby-powdered by British actors who pamper every line as if the English language were a newborn's bottom. If we weren't savoring the plummy consonants in stuffy Merchant-Ivory productions, we were relishing the plumped vowels in stifling Elizabethan costume dramas. Lately, though, British movies have become both less mannered and less mannered. And the grittier the fiction, the muddier the diction. The British cinema isn't dead, it's just not speaking as clearly.

"When I was growing up in Glasgow in the 1960's, to move ahead, to make money, to get a job anywhere that required opening your mouth,

you had to speak BBC English," says Lex Braes, an abstract painter who now lives in Brooklyn (the borough that served as the setting for "Goodfellas" — a film whose dialogue was equally incomprehensible to British audiences). "These days it's not just O.K. to have a burr or a brogue over there, it's desirable. It's like New Labor — 'Hey, we're all included.' That attitude carries over to the British cinema, where it's suddenly fashionable to have a regional accent."

If so, the height of British cinematic fashion may be "My Name is Joe," a film about a recovering alcoholic whose name we could never quite make out. Loach has been making pointed, poignant features about England's underclass since "Kes" (1969), a boy-meets-falcon tale that should have been closed-captioned for the Leeds-impaired. "Joe" is an even harder go. If you close your eyes (and you will), it is difficult to ascertain a single line of dialogue. The cast was voice-coached, evidently, by the guy who announces stops on New Jersey Transit trains. The title character has all the elocution of Mickey Rourke, which explains why the French loved him so. Peter Mulan, who plays Joe, won the best actor prize at Cannes.

Another British export in need of explication was last year's "Nil by Mouth." Even the title could use a subtitle. Alas, the newly-released video has none. Of "Nil's" cockamamie Cockney — which borders on Mockney — the director Gary Oldman has said: It's like watching Shakespeare. It all sounds like gobbledeygook for the first ten minutes, you just have to work. William Shakespeare? Funny, we do not recall him writing, "A orse, a orse, me kingdom fer a orse." With the exception of a very few phrases in "Nil" — "Good mornin', Guvnor"; "a coupla geezers"; "the ol' carrot-an-onions" — what little we worked out could not be printed in a family newspaper. Volume 8 of the Encyclopedia Britannica contains fewer F-words.

Yet another picture lacking both subtitles and subtleties is "Among Giants," which will be released Stateside in March. "Giants" is a high-voltage electrical tower romance set in the vertical world of utility pylons along the Yorkshire

Moors. This dizzying love story was written by Simon Beaufoy, whose growing Sheffield-based oeuvre began with "The Full Monty," the 1997 crossover smash about redundant steelworkers baring the ol' carrot-an-onions. "Monty" became the highest-grossing British film ever largely because non-British Midlanders didn't need a Berlitz course to get it.

Not so "Giants." The most gripping — or rather, least gripping — scene in "Giants" sees a fearless Australian backpacker (Rachel Griffiths), imprudently mountaineering without her partner (Pete Postlethwaite), fall from a rock face and into oblivion (Joe Piscopo). What makes the fall doubly devastating for American audiences is that Griffiths is the film's only comprehensible actor.

The anti-social climber's calamity, which she survives, leads to the film's climactic exchange between Ray, played by Postlethwaite, and a co-worker named Steve (James Thornton) who happens to be the hypotenuse of a bizarre love triangle.

Thornton: "She gamma az Inna, Ray! She fella sheeba fa fluv!" Postlethwaite: "Whaaa!" Thornton: "Jaga zina spittle, Ray!"

Postlethwaite (despondent): "Stu PaBasta!"

Thornton (agitated): "She fuga luvdja. She fuga luvdja!" Stunned, as anyone would be by this revelation, Postlethwaite makes a moving bed of straw and says: "Beffa fubba... leega bunz maw."

Griffiths: "Say goodbye to Steve for me."

Postlethwaite: "Neela braygez amuffa fella!" Griffiths (tearfully): "Ray, I'm sorry."

Postlethwaite (tenderly): "Mee tulip, goo timi zowao."

Stunned, as anyone would be by this revelation, Griffiths leaves town for good. The audience is left stranded atop an electrical Tower of Babel.

Somewhere in this script, we are told, is Neiman Marcus cookie recipe.

LEADING SINGERS

By ELIZABETH GORSKI / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

1 Followings
6 "Luxemburg" (1986 film biography)

10 E-mail
17 Joined

18 Carried furniture
19 Epoch from 10 to 2 million years ago

21 50's-90's jazz singer
23 Circumstance of living

24 Foreign currency
25 Cheer

27 Plastic — Band
28 Downhill slope

29 Times old and new
30 Daimler-Chrysler products

31 Loses it
33 Indian tourist stop

34 Turkey helping
35 Pair at sea

36 Ship danger
37 Skips ball

38 Thieves
41 Kind of ball

42 Key letters
43 Like a certain key:

44 False, like some talk
45 Imported vodka

49 Appliance brand
51 Throw

52 Taxes
54 Like Chopin's

Scherzo (Op. 54)
55 Criticism, so to speak

56 Continental abbr.
57 — me down to rest me (old prayer start)

58 Bond-issuing org.
59 On the line

60 Whodunit solver: Abbr.
61 Lily, the drug maker

62 Holy person
64 But, in Bordeaux

65 Fr. holy women
67 Tabula —

68 Celebrity's opposite
69 Year in Louis V's reign

70 A zoner
71 Book of prophecies

72 In accord
73 Horizon

75 Extrinsic
77 German article

78 Big Apple initials
79 Center of Beaujolais country

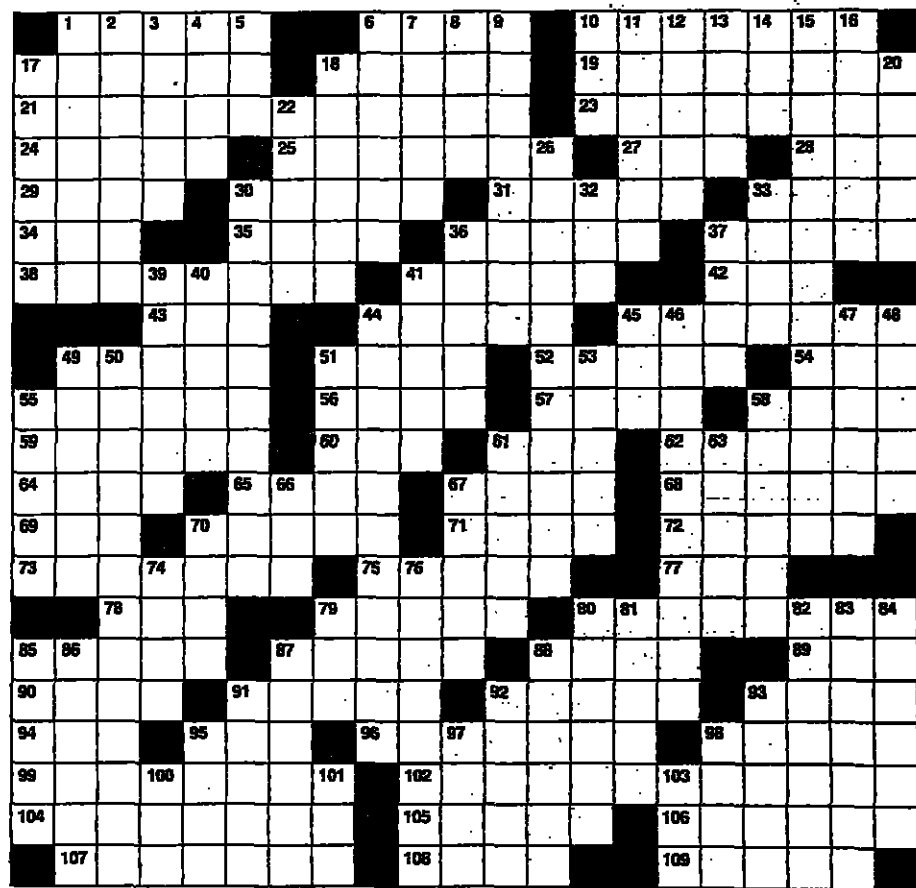
80 Elegant one
85 Denounces

87 Bagel purveyors
88 "Excuse me..."

89 Stagewear for Madonna
90 Reflecting no light

91 Start of a caution
92 "Dynasty" actress

93 Some cereal



DOWN

1 Singer's locale
2 Offense

3 Victim's name
4 Puppets, etc.

5 Where the Pope's Brothers debated: Abbr.
6 Summaries

7 Offenses
8 Highway department supply

9 Author whose novels span 6,000 years
10 Dashboard initials

11 George and others
12 Warnings

13 TriBeCa neighbor
14 Univ. of Md. competes in it

15 Singer with Parliament and Funkadelic

16 Guarantee

17 Popular packs
18 Bad looks

20 Small heaters
22 "That's not what"

26 "You Don't Know" How Glad I Am singer
30 "Steppin' Out" singer

32 Born
33 To boot

36 V.L.P.
37 Come clean, with "up"

39 Valuable strings
40 Formal scholar

41 "How Sweet It Is" singer
45 Battery type

46 Singer with an Oscar-nominated song from "Robin Hood"

47 Like some beds
48 All choked up

49 Farangism
50 "Happy Birthday, Mr. President" singer

51 Becomes a whiter shade of pale
53 Inventor Howe

55 Actress Emma

84 No longer pale

85 Believer
86 On

87 Grandparents, traditionally
88 Fly

91 Beneficiary
92 Dine at home

93 Lose one's nerve
95 Show of hands?

97 Good amount of money
98 Ja!

100 Opposite of remove
101 All crosser

103 Man with a law

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

GRECO ROMAN CLEMENTE
LIVER RUMOR COLONIAL
URANDABOUND ESCAPEKEY
TENSILE STIVE OIGN
ENID TRIES ROSE
OPERAS STOLE OUR VIT
NAT LOUVERWINNER IDE
ASHE WORA MIDSUMMER
ITEMS TORIC ACE DENOS
RELATE SUBRAY RESITINE
KIAS BIGHAN OIGN
SPILLED DENOS DEGGIS
ARNEL GIB SAUTE RINDS
SENDERAP LATS COLY
AVE DIANA VREELAND DEE
SID DISG EASTS DIVERS
HYSE GIBBY GIBBY
TETS MISERS AMERICA
DETERMINATE CATCABROX
INITIATE ADECA QUATE
NONSENSE RAININ FISES

BUSINESS & FINANCE

The Jerusalem Post

Monday,
February 15, 1999

17

Today's shekel



In brief

Zabludowicz Group joins Dankner-Fisher

The Zabludowicz Group bought a 15 percent stake in Gandan Investments, headed by Nuhli Dankner and Avi Fisher for an undisclosed price over the weekend, the two groups announced yesterday. Established in 1950 by the late defense industrialist Shlomo Zabludowicz, the group is now active in real estate, technology, and tourism. Gandan said it sees in the deal a stepping stone for turning into the country's largest and most diversified tourism services group.

Jerusalem Post Staff

January job seekers down 0.9%

The number of job seekers who registered at government Employment Bureaus across the country declined by 0.9% to 152,900 last month, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs said yesterday. The ministry's list of towns hit hardest by unemployment was topped last month by Ein Mahal (16.6%), Kabul (13%), and Kfar Manda (13%).

Jerusalem Post Staff

Dead Sea Bromine, Shandong Hishua ink deal

The Dead Sea Bromine Company and China's Shandong Hishua Shareholding Co. last week signed a joint venture agreement worth some \$30 million, the company announced yesterday. The two firms intend to set up an equally held company for the production and marketing of bromine solutions in and out of China. Shandong Hishua is part of Shandong Ocean Chemical Group.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Industrial exports down 2%

Industrial exports dropped by 2% last month in comparison with the same period last year, the Central Bureau of Statistics said yesterday. In all, industrial exports totaled \$1.595 billion in January. Polished diamond exports rose by \$10 million to \$385m, but chemical-related exports declined by 6%.

Jerusalem Post Staff

New-car imports down 8% in '98

Imports of new cars, totaling 113,000 vehicles, declined 8% last year by 8 percent in comparison with 1997, the Central Bureau of Statistics yesterday said. At the same time, air-conditioner purchases rose 13% to 186,000 units, and VCR imports soared 48% to 12,000 units.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Frenkel to PM: 4% inflation attainable

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel yesterday held their first face-to-face meeting in more than six months. A spokesman for Netanyahu said that Frenkel surveyed recent developments in the local and global economies, and concluded that the government's official inflation target of 4% for this year is attainable. Prime Minister's Office Director-General Moshe Leon was also present at the meeting.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Four companies submit TA subway-plan bids

By Global News Service

Four overseas planning companies have submitted bids for planning the underground railway in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area, on a route from Bat Yam to Pessah Tikva via Tel Aviv.

The companies are Parsons Brinckerhoff, which carried out the feasibility study for the project, Elektrowatt of Switzerland together with Czech company Sudop, Lahmeyer of Germany, which did the planning for the light railway in Jerusalem, and De-Leuw Cather of Britain.

For the time being, the envelopes containing the technical bids have been opened, while the

envelopes with the financial bids remain closed.

NTA-Metropolitan Mass Transit Ltd., which published the tender, estimates the value of the contract at \$1.25 billion, but Globes has learned that the lowest bid is some \$4.5 million (NIS 20 million).

At present, NTA's share of the Ministry of Transport budget is NIS 15 million, plus authorization to enter into commitments of up to NIS 10 million.

Globes has also learned that NTA's operating expenditure for the year, including the payment to the company managing the project, amounts to some NIS 15 million, and, in practice, there is almost no money to pay for route planning.

Communications Ministry:

Cable firms can use Amos

By JUDY SIEGEL

Cable TV operators will be allowed to back up their services with links to the Israeli telecom satellite Amos, despite protests from digital broadcasting operators, the Communications Ministry yesterday said.

The denied that satellite backup would allow cable operators to compete with D.B.S., which last month won a ministry tender to offer TV broadcasts via satellite, and other new companies due soon to offer digital broadcasting services.

Last week, D.B.S. managing director Eitan Robb wrote to Communications Minister Limor Livnat to protest against her intention to allow the cable companies to use transponders

on Amos to back up their under-ground infrastructure.

Since it received its license in a festive ceremony at the Prime Minister's Office, D.B.S. has filed several protests against the cable companies' attempts to thwart its entry into the market. D.B.S. said the cable firms' use of Amos transponders would reduce the satellite capacity it needed, and that the companies are merely interested in getting entry into digital broadcasting services "through the back door".

D.B.S. paid NIS 300 million for the right to offer direct satellite broadcasting services, and additional companies are due to apply for licenses, but this right was not given to the cable companies, Robb said.

Asked to comment, ministry spokeswoman Ayala Bar said Livnat's office had not received Robb's letter, but in any case it granted permission to the cable companies to carry out satellite backup "to ensure the quality of their services to a million customers. The authorization followed the setting down of rules to ensure that it is only backup and not a primary distribution channel."

She added that there's no connection between such satellite backup and direct distribution of satellite TV to homes.

In addition, the ministry maintains that allowing the cable companies the use of Amos does not interfere with D.B.S.'s accessibility to space-based equipment, such as Amos.

BSE, P&W to explore joint venture

By NICKY BLACKBURN

Beit Shemesh Engines (BSE) has signed a memorandum of understanding with the engine services division of Pratt & Whitney to examine the possibility of setting up a new joint company in Israel, the company said yesterday.

Though it's too early to forecast the impact on sales, a similar venture between Singapore Airlines and US engine manufacturer P&W saw sales of \$200 million in the first year of operation.

The two companies, which have been working together since the mid 1980s, plan to focus the new joint venture on the overhaul and repair of the P&W F100 family of military engines and other engine models of P&W.

The new company will use existing equipment belonging to BSE but will offer additional services to customers.

The process of due diligence has now started and Avner Shaham, managing director at BSE, based near Jerusalem, said that depending on the results, a contract to create a new company will be signed later this year.

The MOU commits both companies to jointly evaluate financial, technological, marketing, and environmental aspects of creating the joint venture.

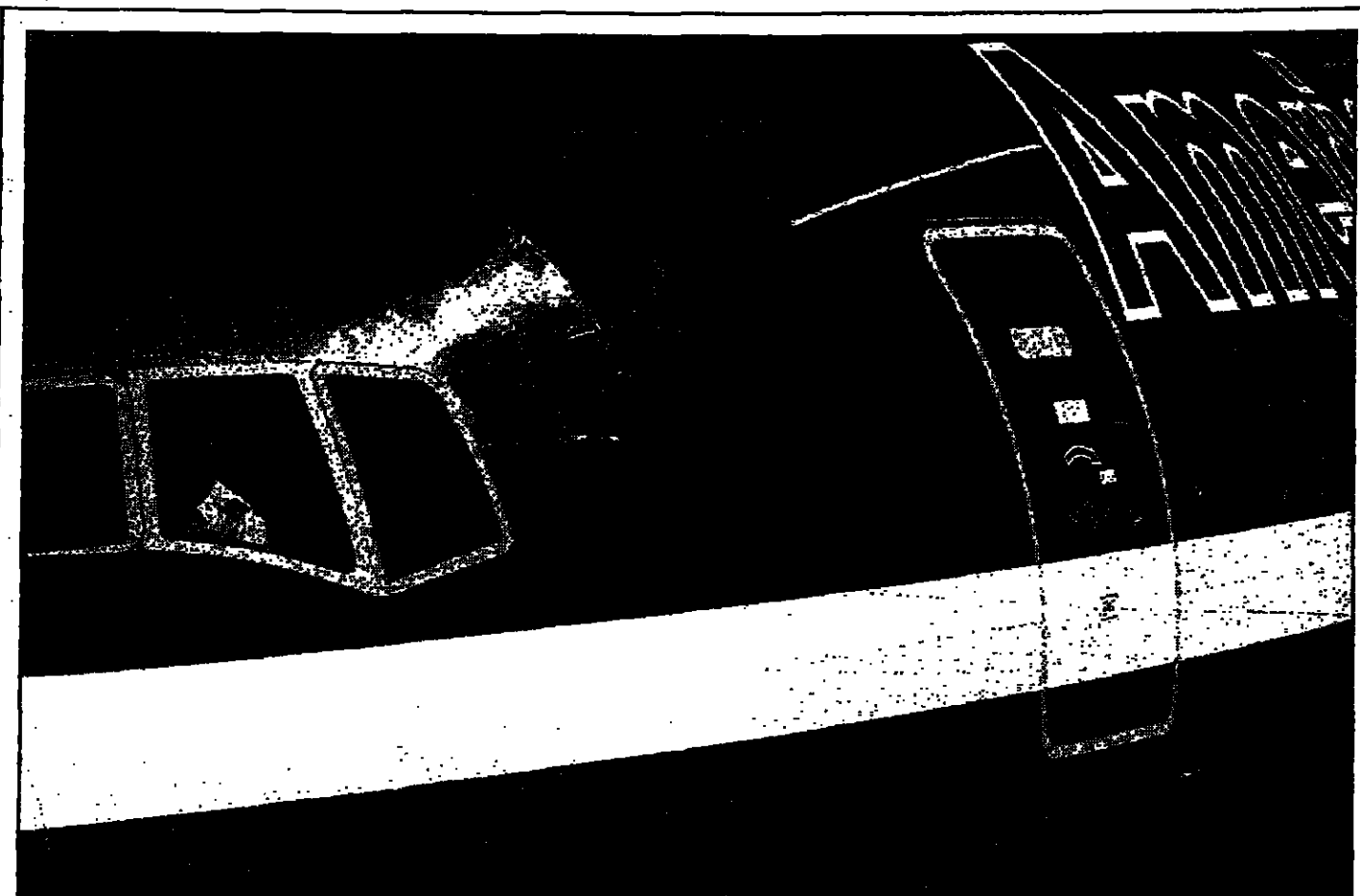
Shaham said the anticipated joint venture would put his company in a much stronger position in the next decade. "This is a tremendous opportunity for Beit Shemesh," he said. "We have been working closely with P&W for the last 15 years, and the joint venture can further our relations with the American company."

A spokesman for the company added that the joint venture would greatly expand the scope of services that BSE can offer. "Beit Shemesh is currently limited in its technological abilities. It doesn't have the full support of P&W in all areas. With the new company BSE will be able to expand its range of services, enabling repair work to be carried out in Israel rather than being sent to other P&W centers."

As a result, he said, the company would be able to attract new customers in countries such as Greece and Turkey.

James D. Taicler, VP of P&W's engine services division said that once the new venture is established, BSE will become an integral part of the growing network of P&W affiliated engine repair facilities.

Aside from the joint venture in Singapore, P&W has similar joint companies in Taiwan, Ireland, and the Ukraine. In 1999, P&W expects to see turnover of more than \$1 billion from this type of business.



Pilots in contempt

An American Airlines pilot prepares to taxi a 777 away from the gate at the Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport in Grapevine, Texas, Saturday. A federal judge held Saturday the American Airlines' pilots union and two top board members in contempt and promised sizable fines against them, saying the union did not do enough to encourage pilots to return to work after a court order.

(AP)

Israel, PA to jointly host 500 clergy

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Some 500 clergymen, predominantly Roman Catholic, as well as editors of religious media, and travel agents specializing in pilgrimages are to arrive here this week as joint guests of the Ministry of Tourism and the Palestinian Authority tourism office.

At the gathering, which is to begin on Thursday at the Jerusalem International Conference Center, the visitors are to learn of arrangements for 2000. The visitors are to come from over 30 countries in Europe, Asia, and the Americas. They are also to visit Christian holy sites in Jerusalem, Nazareth, the Galilee, and Bethlehem.

The conference is part of a general 2000 marketing effort by the

Tourism Ministry, with a marketing budget of NIS 106 million annually in 1999 and 2000. Speaking at a recent press conference, Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav said that the ministry had invested NIS 200 million during the last two years in infrastructure. This, he said, is in addition to a general government investment of some \$500 million in pilgrimage routes, including improvements to Ben-Gurion Airport and highways, especially in Galilee.

Katsav said that according to forecasts by government experts, 4 million to 4.5 million people will visit during the millennium year. However he added that the ministry has engaged an outside firm

to make an independent forecast.

He noted that a factor that would affect the number of pilgrims would be a possible visit by Pope John Paul II. Katsav spoke of such a visit taking place at the end of 1999 or the beginning of 2000. He added that the main problem is the length of time which visitors must spend going through formalities at Ben-Gurion Airport. He said that he has planned meetings with the Airports Authority and the Interior Ministry to discuss the problem.

According to Katsav, some 60,000 rooms are to be available by 2000, 40,000 of them in hotels and 20,000 in such facilities as rural accommodation in kibbutzim, bed-and-breakfast facilities attached to private homes, and

Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel field schools. He said that this number would be adequate for the expected number of visitors, although there could be periods, such as Christmas and Easter, during which it might be hard to find accommodation. He said that the ministry has stepped up its grants for those wishing to build bed-and-breakfast rooms.

Microsoft's grip on computer universe softens

WASHINGTON — Although Microsoft Corp.'s antitrust battle

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prices, as well as more choices and innovation.

Since the federal government, 19 states, and the District of Columbia opened their antitrust case against Microsoft last October, personal computer makers such as Compaq, Gateway, Dell, IBM, Hewlett Packard, NEC, and Fujitsu have quietly begun offering the Netscape Navigator Web browser in competition with Microsoft's Internet Explorer browser on at least some of their computers.

These PC makers, among them some of Microsoft's closest allies, had been offering Microsoft's browser exclusively — an arrangement that lies at the heart of the government's antitrust case. The government alleges that Microsoft has used its monopoly power in PC operating systems to stifle competition in emerging technologies such as browsers, which allow computer users to surf the World Wide Web.

Those defections, along with America Online Inc.'s planned

acquisition of Netscape, could assure a strong recovery for Netscape's browser, which has seen its market share plummet by nearly 50 percent since Microsoft began giving away Internet Explorer free in the summer of 1996.

Web browsing software is considered a key battleground for the future of computing, which is expected to become more focused on the Internet and less on the traditional desktop computer. Microsoft's critics argue that Microsoft will control that future if it is allowed to crush rivals like Netscape.

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Meanwhile, a few computer makers, such as Dell and Hitachi, are offering PCs with the option of a different operating system than Microsoft's ubiquitous Windows.

This was unheard of as recently as last year, when virtually all computers based on the Intel chip were Windows machines.

(Los Angeles Times)

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הכרזה מן הארץ

Astle leads Kiwis to victory

DUNEDIN (AP) — Nathan Astle scored 95 to lead New Zealand to a three-wicket win over South Africa in the first match of their six-game limited overs series at Carisbrook yesterday.

New Zealand reached 215 for seven with five balls to spare after bowling out the visitors for 211. Jacques Kallis scored 100 for South Africa but its innings floundered with Geoff Allott claiming 4-35.

New Zealand slipped to 74-4 after 17 overs before Astle and Matthew Bell (37) combined for a 90-run stand which put the side back on top.

The win was soured slightly by an injury to key allrounder Chris Cairns, who tore a calf muscle as he set off for a sharp single.

He limped down the pitch and was run out by a direct hit from Dale Benkenstein at cover. Cairns collapsed to the ground and had to be helped on to a cart to be taken off the ground.

Cairns will miss the next two one-dayers against the South Africans later this week but is considered a chance to recover in time for the first Test in Auckland starting February 27.

Cairns' dismissal came after New Zealand had lost three wickets in the first nine overs of their innings.

Astle made a spectacular start. He got off the mark by thumping Pollock for six back down the ground and took a boundary through mid-wicket off Kallis.

Two boundaries followed in Pollock's third over but Astle lived dangerously.

On 11, he cut Kallis hard and low to Jonty Rhodes at backward point and while he got a hand to the ball he couldn't hold the chance.

Then with Astle on 27, Rhodes put another very difficult chance down in the same position, again off Kallis.

Chris Harris guided the hosts home with an unbeaten 34.

Scoreboard

The opening one-day international between New Zealand and South Africa at Carisbrook, Dunedin, NZ

| South Africa | |
|---|------------|
| G.Allott | 10 |
| H.Crooke | 18 |
| J.Kallis | 100 |
| H.Crooke | 20 |
| A.Pollock | 22 |
| C.Smith | 9 |
| S.Pollock | 1 |
| M.Boucher | 1 |
| L.Kallis | 26 |
| S.Symcox | 0 |
| A.Donald | 0 |
| Extras (b-1 nb-2 w-2) | 5 |
| Total (48.1 overs) | 211 |
| Fall of wickets: 1-19 2-58 3-59 4-65 5-107 6-147 7-157 8-210 9-210 10-210 11-210 12-210 13-210 14-210 15-210 16-210 17-210 18-210 19-210 20-210 21-210 22-210 23-210 24-210 25-210 26-210 27-210 28-210 29-210 30-210 31-210 32-210 33-210 34-210 35-210 36-210 37-210 38-210 39-210 40-210 41-210 42-210 43-210 44-210 45-210 46-210 47-210 48-210 49-210 50-210 51-210 52-210 53-210 54-210 55-210 56-210 57-210 58-210 59-210 60-210 61-210 62-210 63-210 64-210 65-210 66-210 67-210 68-210 69-210 70-210 71-210 72-210 73-210 74-210 75-210 76-210 77-210 78-210 79-210 80-210 81-210 82-210 83-210 84-210 85-210 86-210 87-210 88-210 89-210 90-210 91-210 92-210 93-210 94-210 95-210 96-210 97-210 98-210 99-210 100-210 101-210 102-210 103-210 104-210 105-210 106-210 107-210 108-210 109-210 110-210 111-210 112-210 113-210 114-210 115-210 116-210 117-210 118-210 119-210 120-210 121-210 122-210 123-210 124-210 125-210 126-210 127-210 128-210 129-210 130-210 131-210 132-210 133-210 134-210 135-210 136-210 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PASSING THE TORCH — Greg Norman (1) chats with Craig Spence, the winner of the Australian Masters golf championship yesterday in Melbourne. Spence, 24, beat Norman by one stroke to capture the title.

Spence holds off Norman to win Australian Masters

MELBOURNE (AP) — Australia's Craig Spence broke a deadlock with Greg Norman with a birdie on the final hole yesterday to claim his first pro win in the Australian Masters at Huntingdale.

Spence, 24, started the day two clear of Norman and met his famous idol for the first time on the opening tee yesterday. He was given a hug by Norman at the end of the round and walked off the green in tears.

They were level at 15-under on the final hole when Spence drilled a 4-iron from 180 yards to 2 feet from the hole. Norman, a six-time win-

ner of the event, sent his second shot to 35 feet from the pin and he two putted.

Spence, playing his home course, holed his birdie putt to finish with 16-under 276 on the par-73 course.

"Well done mate, you deserved it," Norman told Spence as he arrived to mark his card.

Spence said he battled to stay calm as he went head-to-head against Norman, who closed with a 4-under 69 for 277.

"It was such a grind to stay emotionally level," Spence said. "What was keeping me strong was I'd done the hard work."

I'd led all the way and I knew people would admire that, so I thought don't worry about it. Norman was seeking his first tournament win over 72 holes since recovering from shoulder surgery late last year.

"I'm not disappointed, I got beaten by a great golf shot," Norman said. "I've come a long way in four days. It's fabulous, I'm in control of my game."

Norman had rebounded from an unsteady opening round 74 to add rounds of 68-66-69.

Three-time champion Australian Craig Parry finished in a tie for third at 13-under.

New rules: No clash with tradition

CALCUTTA (AP) — Cricket acquires a new version with a three-nation Asian championship of Test matches this month and organizers are assuring conservatives it does not signify a clash with the sport's tradition.

Beginning tomorrow, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka will play a Test match each in the three countries ahead of the March 12 final in the Bangladeshi capital Dhaka, part of a campaign to revive sagging interest in five-day Test matches.

All rules remain the same as in Test cricket but a new points system has been devised for the tournament to decide the finalists if either of the matches is drawn, International Cricket Council president Jagmohan Dalmiya said Saturday.

Dalmiya said he was trying to counter criticism that the new version would tamper with the traditional rules of the sport.

Points will be awarded on the basis of the performance of each team in the first 100 overs of each innings.

India and Pakistan will play the first preliminary round match in the eastern Indian metropolis of Calcutta tomorrow.

Australia, England keen on World Cup chances

England captain Alec Stewart is upbeat about his team's World Cup chances despite a near-record loss to Australia in a limited overs international.

"I wouldn't bet against England, especially in home conditions," Stewart said yesterday in Melbourne as England prepared to fly home after a four-month tour. The final match was Saturday night when Australia won the second tri-series final by 162 runs.

"Playing in England will be a big advantage for us and I would like to think we will do very well."

Stewart admitted his side's batting would need to improve if the team was to win the World Cup for the first time, when it is contested from May 14 to June 20.

"We didn't bat well enough as a team," Stewart said. "We didn't post the totals that we should have and in the end it cost us. Most of us only got 20's and 30's and they don't win you games."

Stewart said South Africa would be favored to win but added that said Australia was a good chance to avenge its 1996 World Cup final loss to Sri Lanka.

"There are a few sides that could win it but I think South Africa are the best side at the moment," Stewart said.

Shane Warne, who led Australia in the tri-series because of an injury to Steve Waugh, believes the side has a great chance of winning the World Cup.

"I would say we are among the top three or four sides in the cup," Warne said. "We are a really big chance if we can play the positive aggressive cricket we played in this series."

No. 1 Duke rolls over Wake Forest

DURHAM, N.C. (AP) — No. 1 Duke stamped yet another Atlantic Coast Conference opponent.

The streaking Blue Devils — on coach Mike Krzyzewski's 52nd birthday — won their 20th straight overall and 35th in a row in Cameron Indoor Stadium, destroying Wake Forest 102-71.

The victory clinched at least a tie for Duke's third straight ACC regular season title, marking the first time since North Carolina (1976-78) that a team has won three straight ACC regular season crowns. The win by Duke (25-1, 13-0 ACC) also clinched the No. 1 seed in next month's ACC tournament in Charlotte.

Trajan Langdon led the way with 20 points as Duke placed six players in double figures for the fourth time in the last five games.

No. 5 Michigan St. 84
No. 22 Minnesota 82

Mateen Cleaves hit a driving layup with 1.2 seconds left as No.

5 Michigan State rallied to win its school-record 11th straight Big Ten game, beating host Minnesota.

No. 7 Maryland 81
No. 12 N Carolina 64

Steve Francis scored 22 points as host Maryland completed a rare sweep of North Carolina by forcing 25 turnovers in a rout of the 12th-ranked Tar Heels.

No. 8 Kentucky 74
South Carolina 40

Scott Padgett scored 13 points to lead five Kentucky players in double figures as the eighth-ranked Wildcats won at home.

Jules Camara had seven rebounds for South Carolina.

BJ McKie had 13 points for the Gamecocks (7-17, 2-10), who out-rebounded Kentucky 40-38, but shot just 15-of-61 from the floor (25 percent).

California 85, No. 9 UCLA 67

Sean Lamprey and Michael Gill had 18 points each as California upset visiting UCLA.



FLOORED — Duke's Shane Battier (1) fights for the ball with Wake Forest's Rafael Vidaurrera.

Keegan says he's willing to discuss England position

MANCHESTER (Reuters) — Fulham manager Kevin Keegan said yesterday he was willing to begin talks about becoming the new manager of England's football team.

Keegan, speaking after Fulham lost 1-0 to Manchester United in the FA Cup fifth round, said: "I will talk to the FA if they come on to me. (Fulham Chairman Mohamed Al) Fayed agrees to their approach."

"Someone has decided they (the FA) will approach me and they seem to have told the media but no one has yet spoken to me," added Keegan on his 48th birthday.

"Just like you (the media) I am trying to work out the plot."

The former England international, who coached Newcastle before taking over at Fulham, also received a boost from Fayed, who has given permission for the FA to approach his manager.

"I would let them talk to Kevin," he told a British Sunday newspaper. "I can't just tie him in chains."

The England manager's position became vacant when Glenn Hoddle was sacked on February 2 for saying disabled people were paying for the sins of an earlier life. Former Leeds manager Howard Wilkinson has taken the job in a caretaker role.

Northern Ireland's Martin O'Neill was also added to the list of likely candidates for the job as the British media continued to speculate over Glenn Hoddle's successor.

The Sunday Telegraph said that O'Neill, the former Northern Ireland international and current Leicester City manager, had been added to the short list by the FA after they decided against former incumbents Bobby Robson and Terry Venables.

De la Hoya defeats Quartey on split decision

LAS VEGAS (Reuters) — Facing the stiffest challenge of his professional career, Oscar de la Hoya came through with a championship 12th and final round to turn back Ghana's Ike Quartey and keep his World Boxing Council title by split decision on Saturday.

Narrowly ahead on two scorecards beginning the last round, de la Hoya came storming out on the attack to seal the victory.

The American won the round on all three scorecards.

De la Hoya put the challenger down with a left hook in the opening seconds of the last round. Then de la Hoya had him pinned against the ropes, unloading an estimated 20 unanswered blows, but Quartey wouldn't go down. American referee Mitch Halpern looked ready to jump in and stop it, but never did.

"He wouldn't go down, I couldn't believe it," said de la Hoya, 30-0. Quartey in his first defeat fell to 34-1-1.

De la Hoya landed 41 punches to 18 for the challenger in the last round.

Judge John Keane of England scored it 116-113 and Ken Morita of Japan scored it 116-112 for de la Hoya. Larry O'Connell of England saw it 115-114 for the challenger.

Quartey, the former World Boxing Association champion, disputed the verdict as a hometown decision for the American champion.

"You know I won the fight," said Quartey. "I was doing everything. He was just surviving and that's what he did. But I could never win a decision in Las Vegas, I knew that."

There was nothing pretty about boxing's poster boy by the end of the fight. De la Hoya's face was battered and bruised, his left eye was nearly closed and there was a cut under it.

Lazio take command of Serie A as Fiorentina lose

ROME (Reuters) — Lazio went top of serie A for the first time in

Toronto loses in last Gardens game



TORONTO (Reuters) — The Chicago Blackhawks brought down the curtain on Maple Leaf Gardens the same way they raised it 68 years ago — by beating the Toronto Maple Leafs.

Reid Simpson ended a 60-game scoring drought with his first two goals of the season and linemate Bob Probert had a goal and two assists on Saturday, leading the Blackhawks to a 6-2 win in the final game at the last of the NHL's "Original Six" arenas.

Chicago also defeated Toronto 2-1 in the first game at Maple Leaf Gardens on November 12, 1931.

After 68 years and 2,329 games at the hockey shrine, Toronto will play Carolina in the first game at the Air Canada Center on Saturday.

The Gardens' farewell game began with a ceremonial faceoff featuring former Blackhawk Harold "Mush" March, 90, and 89-year-old George "Red" Horner, the last surviving member of the 1931-32 Maple Leafs. The puck they dropped was the one March used to score the first goal at Maple Leaf Gardens.

The game was followed by lengthy ceremonies during which 105 former Maple Leaf players and coaches were introduced to the sellout crowd.

Horner, who captained Toronto from 1938-40, passed a commemorative banner to current captain Mats Sundin and said, "Mats, take this flag to our new home and always remember us."

The Maple Leafs are enjoying a renaissance under first coach Pat Quinn and the Blackhawks are headed for a second straight non-playoff finish. But Chicago got production for its checking line of Simpson, Probert and Mark Janssens and ended a streak of seven losses.

Toronto lost its last two games at the Gardens, finishing there with a record of 1-21-768-346.

Coyotes 4, Avalanche 1
Nikolai Khabibulin set a franchise record for career wins, stopping 25 shots to lead resurgent Phoenix to a road victory.

Khabibulin's 117th career triumph broke the mark he shared with Bob Essensa, who won 116 games for the Winnipeg Jets from 1988-94. The 26-year-old Russian has won four of his last five starts.

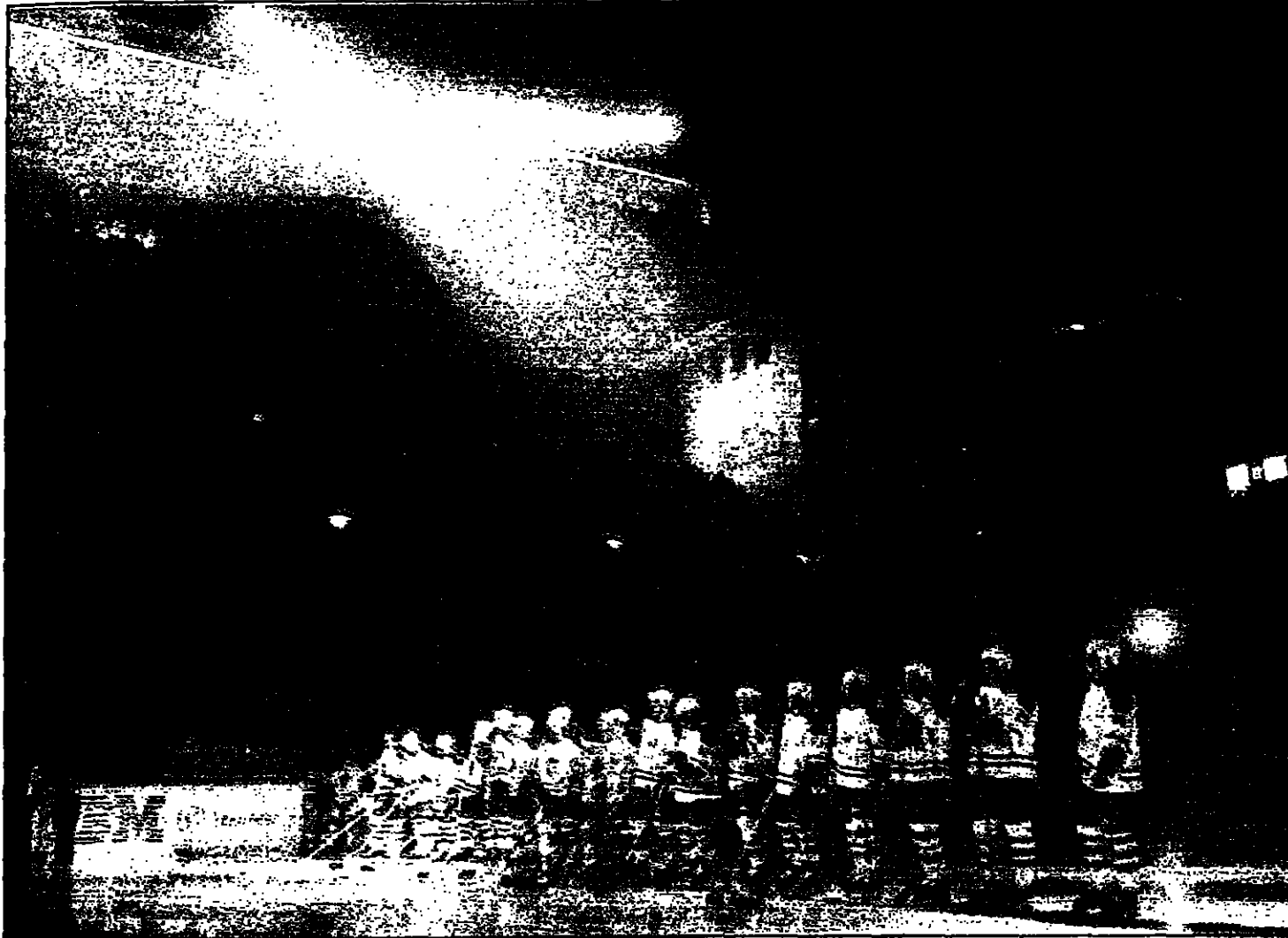
Jeremy Roenick had a goal and an assist in the second period for Phoenix.

Penguins 3, Predators 2
Host Pittsburgh blew a third-period lead, but Kip Miller scored 3:39 into overtime to grab his ninth straight victory.

Miller also had an assist and continued his astonishing turnaround, collecting nine goals and seven assists in his last 10 games.

Islanders 2, Sabres 2
Mariusz Czerkawski's goal 5:41 into the third period lifted visiting New York to a tie.

New York, 0-2-2 in its last four games, killed a penalty in the final two minutes of overtime and goaltender Tommy Salo preserved the point by denying Michael Peca



END OF AN ERA — The Toronto Maple Leafs stand on the blue line before the final game in Maple Leaf Gardens. The Leafs have played 2,329 games over 67 years and will move to the Air Canada Center on February 20.

from the right goalpost with just over a minute remaining.

Canucks 3, Bruins 1
Todd Bertuzzi scored the go-ahead goal early in the second period as undermanned Vancouver posted a home victory.

The Canucks won for the second time in their last seven games (2-4-1) despite playing without captain Mark Messier and rugged defenceman Ed Jovanovski.

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Canadiens 4, Panthers 0
Jeff Hackett returned to the line-up in style, making 16 saves for his third shutout of the season, and Saku Koivu recorded his first two-goal game of the season as Montreal won at home.

Devils 6, Hurricanes 4
New Jersey matched its highest output of the season at Continental Airlines Arena in a home victory.

Stars 3, Kings 2
Guy Carbonneau scored his sec-

ond goal of the season to break a second-period tie as visiting Dallas extended its unbeaten streak against the Kings to 15.

Senators 2, Capitals 1
Damian Rhodes stopped 31 shots and Alexei Yashin and Radek Book scored to lift Ottawa to a home victory over Washington, who had a six-game winning streak snapped.

Sharks 3, Lightning 1
Mike Vernon made 30 saves and

Murray Craven had a hand in all three goals as visiting San Jose dealt the Lightning their eighth straight loss.

Oilers 3, Blues 2
Ryan Smyth scored two goals, including the game-winner with 8:56 remaining.

Florida 0-0-0
Montreal 1-1-4

First Period—1, Montreal, Brisebois 3 (Poulin, Savard), 10:43. Second Period—2, Montreal, Kovin 2 (Corson, Picchi), 10:41 (pp), Third Period—3, Montreal, Kovin 10 (Corson, Zlotnik), 5:30 (pp), 4, Montreal, Dore 4 (Dumoulin).

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Sampras withdraws, Philippoussis in Sybase final

SAN JOSE (AP) — Fans who bought tickets to the Valentine's Day final of the Sybase Open envisioned a match between Pete Sampras and Andre Agassi.

Instead, they'll be getting Cecil Mamiit of the US vs. Australia's Mark Philippoussis.

Sampras withdrew from the tournament shortly before Saturday's semifinal against Philippoussis because of a strained tendon above his left ankle, depriving the \$325,000 event of its top seed and two-time champion.

Agassi, seeded second and a four-time Sybase champion, was defaulted from his second-round match against Mamiit three days earlier because of cursing.

That left Mamiit, a qualifier ranked 120th in the world, facing the third-seeded Philippoussis in today's final.

Sampras, playing in his first tournament after a 10-week layoff that was his longest since high school, hurt his leg during his quarterfinal victory over Bernd Karbacher on Friday night.

"I hit a forehand and was caught off balance," Sampras said. "I felt it in one sudden movement. I continued to play on it, but it was quite sore."

Sampras said he tried to practice Saturday morning, but couldn't run. "I couldn't put any weight on it," Sampras said. "I didn't feel

like I could have played a proper match. It hurt on any movement. It didn't make any sense."

Sampras said he still hopes to play in a tournament in Scottsdale, Arizona, in two weeks.

Mamiit, trying to become first qualifier to win the Sybase Open title, had never gotten past the second round of an ATP tour event before this week. In fact, he had just two career ATP tour victories before the Sybase Open, in which he already has four — including the defeat by Agassi.

Mamiit advanced to the final by defeating fourth-seeded Michael Chang of the U.S., 3-6, 6-3, 6-4.

Mamiit, who turned pro after winning the NCAA singles championship in 1996 as a freshman at Southern California, said he grew up admiring Chang — who won his first tournament title when Mamiit was 11 years old.

"I watched his game and followed his tactics," Mamiit said. "I was pretty pumped up when Mamiit fell behind 5-0 in the first set before he relaxed."

Then he held serve the rest of the way, and began to take charge when he broke Chang's serve in the fourth game of the second set.

"When I missed a few shots, I started to get a little tentative," Chang said. "I wasn't as aggressive as I should have been. Cecil is playing some good tennis right now."



Marathon man

South African Gert Thys ran the second fastest marathon in history yesterday. Thys, 27, clocked 2 hours 6 minutes 33 seconds to win the Tokyo International Marathon, 28 seconds behind the world best recorded by Brazilian Ronaldo da Costa in Berlin last September.

Collect The Cartoons And You Could Win Fabulous Prizes!



GRAND PRIZE
FREE 2-Week Kosher Alaska Adventure For Two
Aboard The SS Universe Explorer

The Grand Prize Drawing will be held on March 10, 1999. The winner's name will be published in the March 11 edition of The Jerusalem Post. The Alaska Adventure Includes:

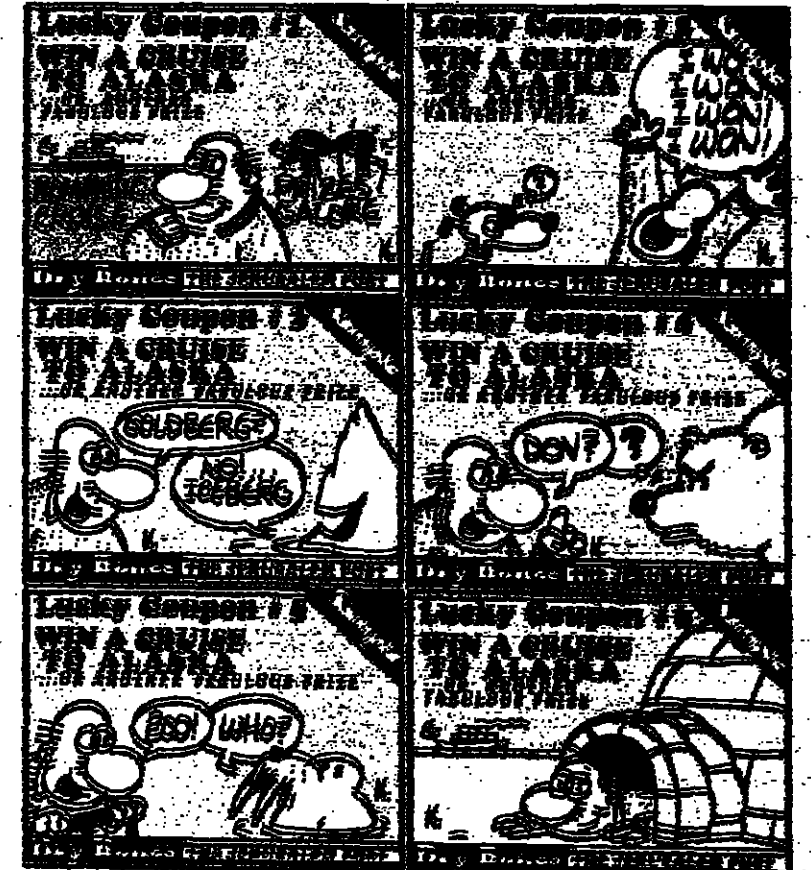
- 1) Two free round-trip Tel Aviv-Vancouver airline tickets
- 2) Free cabin for two aboard the SS Universe Explorer departing Vancouver June 1 and returning June 15, 1999.
- 3) All shipboard meals and port taxes
- 4) World-renowned nature guides and speakers on Jewish topics
- 5) Glat Kasher and Chai Yisrael catering under the supervision of the London Beth Din.

Starting February 10 and continuing until March 10, 1999, one fully-completed entry form will be drawn each day and awarded a beautiful coffee table book from Steimatzky. The names of the winners will be published daily in the newspaper. Daily prize winners remain eligible for the Grand Prize Drawing.

THE CONTEST:
Every day for the next 6 weeks, (January 22 - March 4)
The Jerusalem Post will print one of the six cartoon coupons shown to the right - in the newspaper. Collect a different cartoon coupon each day, by cutting it out and pasting it on the entry form. When all 6 cartoons have been attached to the corresponding spaces on the form, send to:
Alaska c/o The Jerusalem Post, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000. You will then be eligible to win fabulous prizes.

Contest Entry Form

Collect the 6 different cartoon coupons that will appear in The Jerusalem Post from January 22 - March 4, 1999, attach them to the corresponding spaces on the entry form below and send to: Alaska c/o The Jerusalem Post, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000. You may enter as many times as you wish. All entries must reach Post by March 8, 1999. Only fully-completed forms will be entered into the draw. No photocopies or faxes will be accepted.



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Pro, college hoops



Page 21

Second best ever



Page 22

Sports Editors: Joe Hoffman & Ori Lewis

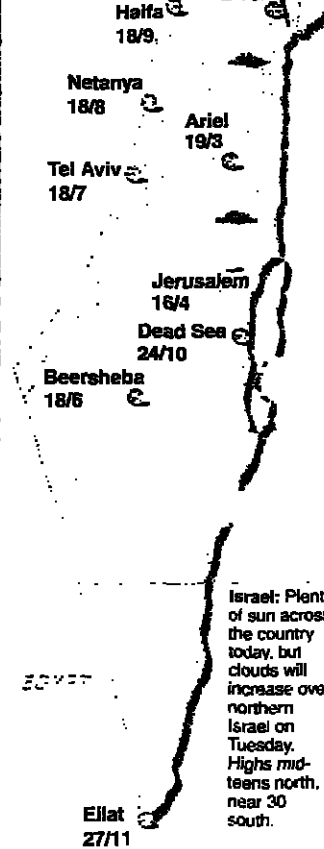
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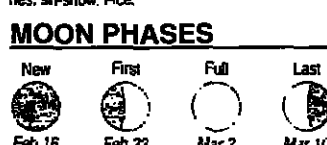
| City | Today | High | Low | Today | High | Low |
|-----------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|------|
| Jerusalem | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Tel Aviv | 18/7 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Haifa | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Beersheba | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |

INTERNATIONAL CITIES

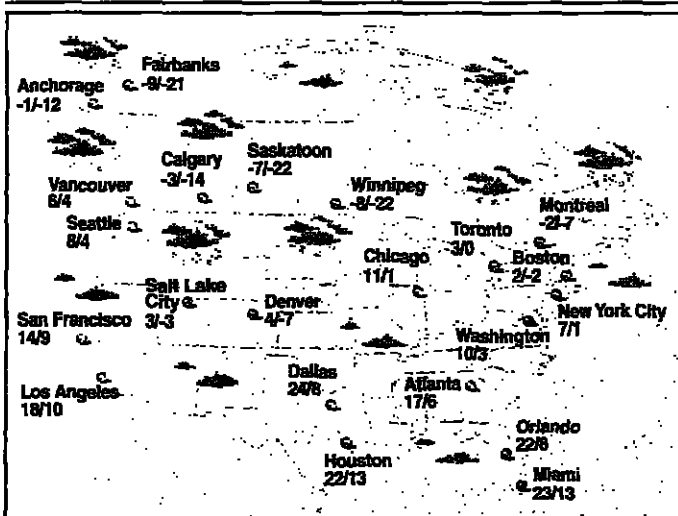
| City | Today | High | Low | Today | High | Low |
|---------------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|------|
| London | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| New York | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Paris | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Rome | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Sydney | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Tokyo | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Hong Kong | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Los Angeles | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| San Francisco | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Chicago | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Washington | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Atlanta | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Miami | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Orlando | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Phoenix | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| San Diego | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Seattle | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Vancouver | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Calgary | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Edmonton | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Winnipeg | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Regina | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Saskatoon | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Victoria | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Montreal | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Quebec | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Ottawa | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| Halifax | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |
| St. John's | 18/8 | 21/10 | 14/1 | 19/9 | 22/11 | 15/2 |

Weather (W): sunny, partly cloudy, cloudy; showers, thunderstorms, rain, snow, sleet, fog, ice.

MOON PHASES

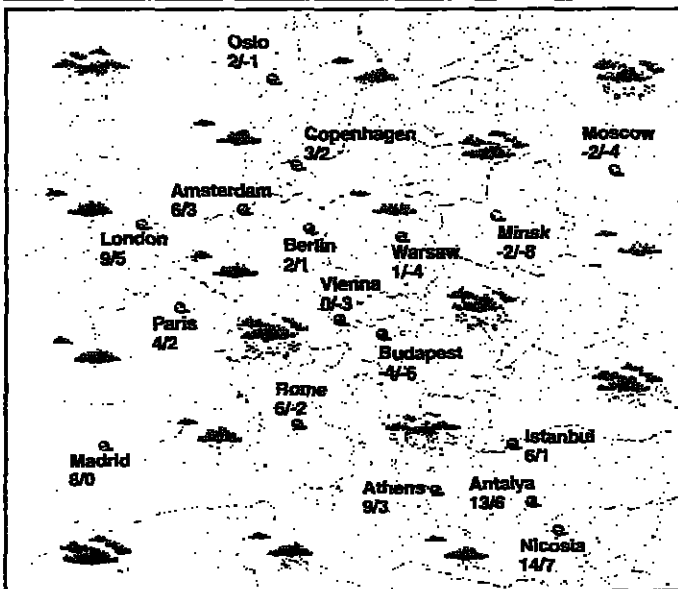


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ELZALZAL Weekends



Manchester United's Dennis Irwin (right) battles with Fulham's Neil Smith in their FA Cup tie at Old Trafford yesterday. (Reuters)

United kill off Fulham dream

MANCHESTER (Reuters) - Fulham's dream of beating Manchester United in the FA Cup came to an end when they were beaten 1-0 in a hard-fought fifth-round tie at Old Trafford yesterday.

A lone Andy Cole strike in the 36th minute was enough to sink the second division side and take the premier league leaders into the quarter-finals where they will face Chelsea in a mouth-watering tie.

In the other outstanding fifth-round tie at St. James Park, last year's losing finalists Newcastle were unable to get past Blackburn goalkeeper John Filan and had to settle for a 0-0 draw and a replay at Ewood Park on February 24. The winners will play Everton in the next round.

In spite of their win it was a frustrating day for Manchester United, who showed little of the exciting form which has made them the top side in the country.

"It was a difficult game," said United's disappointed coach Alex Ferguson.

"I suppose cup football can go that way. A team from the second division can be inspired by coming to Old Trafford while for us it was just another game."

Fulham coach Kevin Keegan was also in a frustrated mood as his side failed to follow their heroic wins over premier league sides Southampton and Aston Villa in earlier rounds.

"I would have enjoyed that a lot of more if we had got a goal," said Keegan.

In spite of playing against a

Fulham side robbed by injury of two of its more experienced players, Paul Bracewell and Paul Peschisolidi, United struggled to make an early impact and had to wait until the 26th minute before making the breakthrough.

Ole Gunnar Solskjaer sent in a cross for Cole whose shot deflected wide of keeper Maik Taylor and into the net.

A minute later Fulham might have been level only for England international Gary Neville to pull off a daring tackle on Dirk Lehmann as he shaped to shoot inside the penalty area.

Fulham battled hard in the second half and it took a fine save from Peter Schmeichel in the 67th minute to deny John Salako. Dwight Yorke twice went close in the final stages of the game with a header and a volley

which Taylor kept out with brilliant saves.

At St. James Park, Blackburn had the first opportunity to take the lead in the 13th minute when Ashley Ward's 25 meter strike cannonned back off the cross bar. A minute later Newcastle's Stephen Glass saw his shot from just outside the penalty area also ricochet back off the bar.

Nolberto Solano and Temuri Ketsbaia also went close for Newcastle in the first half while Glass had two further chances after the break. But Blackburn held on for the replay.

Draw for the quarter-finals of the FA Cup: Newcastle United v Blackburn Rovers v Everton, Barnsley v Leeds United or Tottenham Hotspur, Arsenal or Sheffield United v Huddersfield Town or Derby County, Manchester United v Chelsea. Matches to be played over weekend of March 6.

Wenger calls for rule change after 'unsporting' goal

By ANDY EDWARDS

LONDON (Reuters) - Arsene Wenger received backing yesterday for his call for a change to the laws of the game following Arsenal's offer to replay an FA Cup match they had won through an "unsporting" goal.

Holders Arsenal beat Sheffield United 2-1 in their fifth round tie with a late goal that Wenger admitted was "sports-wise not right."

"There is a hole in the rulebook, we would be better off to have a law rather than a convention," said the Arsenal manager.

David Davies, English Football Association (FA) acting chief executive, applauded Wenger's call.

An opportunity to discuss a rule change will come almost immediately with the law-

makers of world soccer, the International Board, due to meet in Cardiff on Saturday.

"We would be delighted to discuss this at the International Board meeting because clearly while we have a convention for fair play in this country events at Arsenal did illustrate a loophole in the law," Davies said.

"It was not going to be on the agenda next week but we have an unprecedented situation which we want to resolve as quickly as possible. In this country we pay more than just lip service to FIFA's motto of fair play."

Wenger said on Saturday his team had gone against the spirit of the game in the way in which they scored their 76th minute "winner" after Sheffield's Lee Morris had been injured.

Nigerian international Nwanku Kanu, making his Arsenal debut, ran on to a throw-

in which under soccer etiquette was intended to return the ball to United. Kanu then set up Marc Overmars for the goal.

Arsenal won praise for their quick response in offering the Yorkshire club a replay. The FA swiftly agreed and the two teams will meet again on February 23.

Responding to criticism that the FA had acted hastily, Davies said: "The reason we took a very quick decision to replay the match is that we think fair play matters."

Wenger's suggestion also found approval from one of Britain's most experienced managers. Ron Atkinson, recently installed at Nottingham Forest, welcomed the proposal.

"These things never show up until they happen. I think it's a decent idea and it should save confusion," he said.

Golmard wins first ATP Tour crown

DUBAI (Reuters) - Jerome Golmard of France won his first ATP Tour title yesterday by defeating German Nicolas Kiefer 6-4 6-2 in the Dubai Open final.

Kiefer, who had beaten Andrew

Ilie of Australia 6-3 7-6 in a rain-marred semifinal earlier, was tentative and struggled to find his first service.

Golmard fully exploited the situation and broke Kiefer to lead 3-2 in the first set. Kiefer had a chance to recover but wasted two break points and allowed Golmard to hold his serve and win the set. He had no answer to the Frenchman's aggressive play in the second.

Gebrselassie breaks world indoor 5,000 record

BIRMINGHAM (Reuters) - Haile Gebrselassie, Ethiopia's triple world champion, broke the world indoor 5,000 meters record yesterday at the Birmingham indoor grand prix.

In front of a sell-out 8,500 crowd at the National Indoor Arena, Gebrselassie, the world and Olympic 10,000 meters champion, ran an unofficial 12 minutes, 50.38 seconds.

That beat the 12:51.48 mark set by Kenya's Daniel Komen in Stockholm nearly 3 years ago. It is 26-year-old Gebrselassie's 15th world best, indoors and out.

Hap. Jerusalem makes comeback to stun Holon

By ELI GRONER

Hapoel Jerusalem pulled off a fantastic road win, 84-77, over Hapoel Holon last night, just two days before its huge showdown against Joventut Badalona in Spain.

Jerusalem could not have hoped for a better preparation for its Saporta Cup matchup: The capital club overcame injury (H Waldman is still out with his back injury), a hostile road crowd and a seemingly insurmountable 19-point deficit.

In fact, the win was as improbable as it was sensational. Holon started out the game on fire, with an unstoppable Ryan Lexter (16 first-half points, 6-of-6 FGs) propelling Holon to an early 38-19 lead.

Holon's backcourt was vital to the strong charge, as guards Greg Sutton (13 first-half points), Behzad Souferian and Guy Kantor combining for nine first-half assists. But in the second half, Holon's team game went AWOL, and it appeared as if Sutton forgot about his teammates after the half.

The league's leading scorer heaved up 12 second-half shots, converting only five. Meanwhile, Lexter, after his sensational first half, didn't get a field goal attempt.

For the second game in a row, Jerusalem was paced to victory by its front court. Kenny Williams, Radisav Curcic and Derrick Hamilton contributed 22 points apiece, with 41 of the combined 66 points coming in the second half.

Williams got Jerusalem's run started with several mid-to-long-range jumpers, while Curcic confounded a bevy of Holon centers.

In addition, Jerusalem out-rebounded Holon in the second half 17-5.

The win virtually ensures that Jerusalem will finish the regular season in first place.

Despite the loss, Holon remains in third place with four games remaining.

Hapoel Tel Aviv 79, Bnei Herzliya 72

Tel Aviv's strong play of late has made the battle to stave off relegation interesting.

By pulling off the road win last night, Hapoel is now within one game of Herzliya for the highly coveted 10th place.

Givat Shmuel 75, Maccabi Ra'anana 71

Ra'anana missed a golden opportunity to close in on Holon by losing at home.

Other scores last night: Ramat Gan 95, Galil Elyon 80; Hapoel Eilat 105, Maccabi Haifa 97; Maccabi Tel Aviv 101, Rishon LeZion 84.

| Orange Basketball League | W | L | Pts |
|--------------------------|----|----|-----|
| Hapoel Jerusalem | 17 | 1 | 35 |
| Maccabi Tel Aviv | 14 | 4 | 32 |
| Hapoel Holon | 11 | 7 | 29 |
| Maccabi Ra'anana | 9 | 9 | 27 |
| Tali Elyon | 9 | 9 | 27 |
| Hapoel Eilat | 9 | 9 | 27 |
| Ramat Gan | 8 | 10 | 26 |
| Ramat Gan | 8 | 10 | 26 |
| Maccabi Haifa | 7 | 11 | 24 |
| Bnei Herzliya | 6 | 12 | 24 |
| Hapoel Tel Aviv | 5 | 13 | 23 |
| Givat Shmuel | 5 | 13 | 23 |

Yachting duo win world silver medal

By HEATHER CHAIT

Gidi Kliger and Udi Gal, the Israeli pair at the 470 junior world championships, finished the competition in second place with a silver medal yesterday.

The two completed both the final two races in second place to finish eight points behind Poland's Tomasz Stanczyk and Tomasz Jakubski who won their second successive world title.

Kliger and Gal are the current European junior champions.

Third place went to the New Zealand pair of Rhys Imlinson and Jamie Hunt who displaced another Polish team, Rafal Sawicki and Piotr Przybylski who were in third place before the last two sails.

The championships were held on Auckland's Waitemata Harbor.

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